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## NOTES AND NEWS.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY.

A MEETING of the Court of Governors of the University of Manchester was held on Wednesday, the 20th of May, when Sir John Stopford, the Vice-Chancellor, after describing some of the difficulties which war-time conditions have caused, paid tribute to the way in which students are working to overcome them.

Sir John spoke of these difficulties " not in any complaining manner but as the shortest way of giving a picture of the University as it is working to-day." Alteration in the age of deferment had meant a further reduction in the teaching staff, and with the steady depletion of the clerical, administrative, and service staff and the calling up of more women there was cause for anxiety. Nobody, however, was complaining, and the University had been treated sympathetically and considerately by the Government departments.

A more serious problem had arisen out of the shortness of time allowed to students for studying at the University, but an additional term, to be instituted this summer, would help to offset this. The imposition on all male students of an obligation to perform national service had meant a further call on their time, but the hours lost were being made up by working through the session.

The meeting approved a recommendation for the conferment of a number of honorary degrees which will take place in July.

At the Founder's Day Celebration, which took place later in the day, honorary degrees were conferred on Dr. J. M. Crofts, Mr. J. M. Keynes, Professor W. H. Lang, Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree, and Sir Richard Livingstone.

The Vice-Chancellor, who conferred the degrees, said that

in spite of all difficulties and restrictions the universities had been able to carry on more fully with their work than they had expected would be possible, and in many and diverse ways they had been able to make a more substantial contribution to the war effort than was ever expected.

The honorary graduands were presented by Professor T. W. Manson in his usual felicitous manner. We have to content ourselves with a few quotations :—

Dr. J. M. Crofts (LL.D.).—Starting from almost nothing, with the modest aim of making the Joint Matriculation Board the best thing of its kind in the country, he succeeded, incidentally, in making it the biggest. He also won for it in a remarkable degree the respect and the confidence of the school authorities.

Mr. John Maynard Keynes (LL.D.).—I present to you the economic counterpart of Plato's philosopher-king, a theorist of the utmost originality and brilliance who undertakes and performs with conspicuous success practical tasks of the highest importance.

Professor W. H. Lang (LL.D.).—I present to you one who shows to the world all the outward appearances—the patriarchal presence, the grave dignity, the god-like calm, and the serene wisdom—appropriate to a great scholar and is all that he appears to be, as this University knows to its profit.

Mr. Seebohm Rowntree (LL.D.).—I present to you a man whose business has done much to sweeten the relations of life ; whose life has done even more to sweeten the relations of business. He has striven for peace in industry and sought diligently to discover the conditions on which peace may be secured.

Sir Richard Livingstone (Litt.D.).—I present to you a kindred spirit. What he did in Ulster for the Queen's University of Belfast he does in a still wider field for that which has been the inspiration of every real university and the prime mover in intellectual progress—the Greek genius.

Dr. F. H. A. Marshall (D.Sc.).—I present to you a scientist who may be described briefly though not exhaustively as the greatest living authority on the private life of the ferret. Translated into academic terms this becomes Reader in Agricultural Physiology in the University of Cambridge.

In acknowledging the honours conferred upon himself and his fellow graduates, Sir Richard Livingstone spoke of the destiny of "those great creations of the modern world," the newer universities, to serve, but not to be the slaves of, the great centres of commerce and industry, and of two ways in particular in which he felt they were called to serve them. One was his project for a residential centre in the country close by for courses in religion, philosophy, politics, and economics, with which people engaged in business or the professions could resume their education and renew their minds. The other was to be, as the universities had once been, the homes of great movements of human thought that took the whole of human life as their theme. Must these things, he asked, be left to the religious bodies or to individual enterprise?

He referred to the specialism that began, often in extremely narrow forms, immediately after the school certificate and the tendency of philosophy to forget that the word used to mean "love of wisdom" and to be shrivelled up into "the wizened shape of logical positivism." Remembering the words of Plato that "without knowledge of good and evil the use and excellence of these sciences will be found to have failed us," he concluded, "I sometimes think our young men and women could have better training and more interest in this ancient and backward science."

Another of the honorary graduands, Dr. J. M. Keynes, in his response, made a striking speech on post-war economics.

A time of war, for a university, was a most tragic period, said Dr. Keynes. Its young men and women were taken before their time, its true purpose had to be set aside, and for those who were left to keep the torch alight the task was perhaps the hardest of all. Yet they were performing a more necessary, a more valuable task than they themselves, perhaps, could easily realise when they saw their fellows all abuzz in Government service. If the spirit and traditions of our universities were not kept alive a whole generation of students would be the poorer.

"I believe," Dr. Keynes continued, "that this time it will take us three years to recover from the effects of the war. During that period we must willingly submit to discipline—

progressively less severe than in time of war, but nevertheless difficult perhaps to bear in time of peace. After that period more we can reasonably expect to obtain a measure of prosperity and health not only not less but higher than ever before. We can only lay sound foundations for that by accepting the discipline of the first three years.

" During those three years we shall have to use our brains as never before. Orderly transition from war to peace, without the disorderly demobilisation of last time and without avoidable waste of labour or materials, or excessive transitional unemployment, is not going to be easy. It requires the maintenance in principle of many of the war controls and of all rationing until the actual effects of abundance of supplies prove controls and rationing to be unnecessary. We have to be full of plans, unlimited in the ambitions of our projects, but rigidly disciplined in the order and the pace of their execution. It is to be a time, I hope, such as it has not been our good fortune to enjoy for many years for the use of the political, economic, and constructive imagination ".

Dr. Keynes then turned to the question of our export trade after the war and, in particular, to the urgent necessity for its expansion, and went on to say:

" For us in this island, our economic relations with the rest of the world are the clue to all else. Great Britain, the United States, and Soviet Russia will have the task of laying foundations for world relations in which every country can without hindrance exchange its surplus produce for the goods it needs from other countries. It is a matter not of the niggardliness of Nature but of the organisation of relations, honest purpose, and, above all, hard and untrammelled thinking.

" There is one aspect, or one consequence, of this which is of particular concern to Manchester. The future prosperity of this country essentially depends on the great expansion of our export trade. With that assured the rest is comparatively easy. Without it our good hopes for the future are sunk. It simply must happen. There can be no ' ifs ' about it. We must increase the volume of our exports by at least 50 per cent. compared with 1938."

Dr. Keynes pointed out that this only meant a return to what we were doing in 1929, and it still fell a good deal short of what we were doing thirty years ago. It did not seem to him possible unless Lancashire textiles and engineering played their part, and a major part.

"Rumours have reached London," he continued, "of what I can only call dangerous defeatism about Lancashire's after-war export markets. You must base your calculations on the assumption that it has got to be done and that all other conditions which it is not the business of Manchester to concert will be such as to make it possible. Manchester's task is to organise the output of what is most likely to be in demand at the lowest possible cost on the greatest possible scale. That is all we can ask of her, but that we do ask, and let her thoroughly reject any future plans on any other hypothesis. It will be for other people so to order the economic relations with the rest of the world that these goods can be marketed and Lancashire receive a proper reward. It is my firm conviction that we can do it. But it is not a matter of can or can't—we must.

"Arrange your ideas and plans on that basis, and in those future plans this University and the industrial brains of this great city will each have their central part to play."

ELECTION OF THE PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND.

The first stage in the election of Dr. William Temple to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, and the Primacy of All England, took place on Friday, the 17th of March, 1942, in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral. In the historic Nelson Chamber Dr. Temple read and signed the Schedule of Assent. He then proceeded to St. Faith's Chapel, where he was presented and took the Oath of Allegiance, afterwards making the Declaration against Simony, and the Declaration of Assent.

Dr. Temple was later received in audience by the King at Buckingham Palace, and did homage on his appointment.

The enthronement in Canterbury Cathedral took place on Thursday, the 23rd of April (St. George's Day), with elaborate ceremonial and age-old ritual, and was a witness of the continuity of Christian tradition, which, in itself, is part of the enduring

background of our civilization, against which even the war might appear no more than a gigantic irrelevancy.

Dr. Temple is the ninety-sixth Archbishop of Canterbury to sit in the Throne of St. Augustine, and he must have recalled a similar occasion, forty-five years ago, when as a youth he saw his father, Archbishop Frederick Temple, conducted to the same throne, and installed in the highest office that the Church has to offer ; and in his sermon, later in the day, Dr. Temple spoke of his father as, among men, the chief inspiration of his life.

Forty-five bishops resplendent in scarlet, sixteen deans, fourteen mayors, and unnumbered clergy thronged the choir and the sacrarium beneath the east window.

The representatives of twenty-five other Christian denominations, including the Greek Church and the Lutheran Church, were present to do honour to the leader of Anglicanism in the Mother Church of the Communion. Two bishops from America also attended.

The nave and choir were filled with members of the foundation and privileged guests, including the honoured representatives of other communions at home and abroad, and of many sides of public life.

The music of organ and choir was reinforced by the combined bands of the Royal Military School of Music and the Buffs. Fanfares, the same as those used at the Coronation of King George VI, were played by a dozen Army trumpeters.

The first fanfare followed the unbolting of the great West door to admit the Archbishop with a stately procession. The Cross of Canterbury borne in front of him, with the Dean and the Archdeacon on his right hand and on his left he was conducted the length of the nave and from screen to high altar. His cope and mitre were cream with rich embroidery of gold.

Dr. Temple knelt before the altar and there remained motionless through the time of preparation. He then moved down to the presbytery for the mandate for his " Induction, enthronement and institution " to be presented by the Vicar-General to the Dean.

After the reading of the document the Archbishop's first words were heard praying that due observance might be followed. The Dean administered the Oath, the Primate, putting his lips

to the Book of the Gospels, rejoined in a clear voice: "As I shall answer the same to Almighty God I hereby make this my corporal oath."

The enthronement followed—a threefold ceremony. The Primate was taken by the hand by Archdeacon or Dean and successively seated in his own canopied choir seat, the Dean's stall, and lastly St. Augustine's Throne, the ancient chair of Purbeck stone of antiquity so great that it is undated, set for the occasion at the top of the steps before the screen in full view of the congregation in the nave.

Midway through the enthronement ceremonies, while the choir sang "The hour cometh, and now is, when true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth," Dr. Temple knelt for a space near the west end of the choir.

Trumpets sounded again after the enthronement. The "Te Deum Laudamus" was sung to the music of organ, drums, and brass; and organ and trumpets burst forth in unison to lead the hymn, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow."

Dr. Temple preached from the text: "The nations shall walk by the right thereof." In the course of the sermon he declared: "This is not the moment to say much about the war. But a German victory, in Germany's present mood, would mean the end of the ecumenical Christian movement and all the hopes connected with it. This is no guess; it is the declared policy of the German State and follows of necessity from its principles. It is our duty as Christian citizens to do our utmost towards winning the war that we may keep open the possibility of a Christian civilization, and maintain the hope of a fellowship pervading all nations under the allegiance of Jesus, Our Lord. . . ."

"City of God, how broad and fair," was sung by choir and congregation as Dr. Temple returned to the high altar. He blessed the people twice—first from the altar, again from the steps above the nave. Then he passed in procession through the "Martyrdom" of St. Thomas of Canterbury to the cloister and the chapter house, the principal seat in which was assigned to him by the Dean before the final ceremony—the proffer of obedience to him by Dean, canons and ministers of the Cathedral.

Only one thing was lacking to the fifteen hundred years old

tradition that marked the service. The bells did not speak. The enemy was not at the gate, although this cathedral, redolent of peace, is in a double sense a bastion of Christian Britain embattled: just thirty miles from the German lines.

The Archbishop takes rank among the foremost leaders of the nation. This is borne out by the acceptance of the views he has expressed in his most recent little "Penguin book" on "Christianity and the Social Order" that the churches are going to play a much more important part in social reform than they have played or sought to play for several centuries.

Dr. Temple shows that the Church to-day has claims to be heard in relation to political and economic problems by a re-assertion of the right once universally admitted and widely recognised, a claim founded on Christian teaching as to the nature of man.

In this small book is to be found a potent stimulant to thought for which we must be grateful to Dr. Temple, for it contains his deeply pondered reflections on the social message of Christianity, which is published at the modest price of sixpence.

Both as speaker and writer, Dr. Temple is indefatigable. He wields a most facile pen, and the list of his principal writings would include at least twenty-seven titles.

During the eight years of Dr. Temple's occupancy of the See of Manchester he served as the Representative of the Church of England on the Council of Governors of the John Rylands Library, in succession to Bishop Knox, and rarely was he absent from any of its meetings, where his wise counsel and genial presence were a constant source of inspiration to his colleagues.

On behalf of the Trustees, Governors and Officials of the Library, we take this opportunity of wishing His Grace and Mrs. Temple still many happy years of life in which to enjoy their richly deserved honours.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death of Professor Edward Fiddes, LL.D., which occurred at his home at Withington, on the 9th of March, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

PROFESSOR EDWARD FIDDES.

For fifty years Edward Fiddes had been associated with the University of Manchester. From his first academic appointment as assistant lecturer in Classics, which he entered upon in 1890, down to the time of his retirement in 1931, when he vacated the specially created Ward Chair of American History, he served the University in an unique range of teaching and administrative service. From 1895 until 1926 he filled the office of Secretary to the Council and the Senate. For six years he served as Senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor, an office specially created to find scope for his abilities as administrator, and it is as administrator and statesman that his work has been, and will be, the most abiding influence.

His formal retirement in 1931 did not end his academic association. He retained membership of the University Press and other committees, where his wise and ripe counsel was constantly sought and found to be invaluable.

The war brought him back to the teaching staff of the History School as a voluntary lecturer to replace a young teacher who had joined the forces.

Dr. Fiddes was an Aberdonian who, after passing through the Grammar School and the University of Aberdeen, proceeded to Cambridge and its Tripos in the Scottish way, to continue his study of the Classics.

He was an idealist, and as a teacher he neither practised nor encouraged pedantry. As an administrator he was never afraid of large and bold projects. He was one of the band which advocated and contrived the dissolution of the confederate Victoria University, and so brought the independent Manchester University into existence in 1903.

In his long career in the University his most memorable service was from 1920 to 1926, when after serving as Registrar for seventeen years he was made Senior Pro-Vice-Chancellor at a time when the Vice-Chancellor was frequently called away from Manchester and Fiddes was virtually acting resident Vice-Chancellor. His life was so completely devoted to the service of the University that he found no time for affairs of civic or political life. His spare time was devoted to recording chapters of University history, or to tramping in our own lakes and dales, or in the continental by-ways.

Dr. Fiddes was never officially connected with the Rylands Library, but throughout the forty-two years of its history he was deeply interested in its welfare, and was a frequent visitor and reader.

Sir John Stopford, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in his appreciation of our friend, has truly spoken of his influence as unique, and as being felt in every department of the University. Sir John recalls the resolution passed by the Council when he retired in 1931 : " As he has been unprecedented in the variety of his offices so he has been unprecedented in the efficiency with which he filled them.

" No one had a more intimate knowledge of the growth and development of the University, and no one did more to make the institution what it is to-day. Up to the time of his last illness his advice was constantly sought, and he remained an active member of at least one committee. The name of Fiddes will ever be revered by his colleagues and many generations of students, and his memory will be an inspiration to us all."

Many of our readers, who are also personal friends of Dr. Bishop, will have learned with regret of his retirement, under the age limit, from the librarianship of the University of Michigan, after twenty-six years of devoted and very distinguished service.

WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP.

On the 22nd of May, 1941, Dr. Bishop was entertained at a dinner at which upwards of three hundred and fifty members of the Faculty and others of his friends were in attendance, which was made the occasion of a presentation to the Board of Regents of the University of the " William Warner Bishop Lectureship Fund " in honour of the retiring librarian.

An interesting collection of studies under the title : " William Warner Bishop : A Tribute, 1941," edited by Henry Miller Lydenberg and Andrew Keogh, has been offered to the countless friends of Dr. Bishop in all parts of the world, as an expression of sincere respect and affection for the man, the scholar, the librarian upon the occasion of his retirement from active service as Librarian of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Bishop has always been an honoured visitor to these

shores, and we welcome this opportunity of joining with his colleagues and friends in wishing him many years of happiness in his reluctant retirement, a retirement which will certainly not be inactive, for it will offer him greater freedom to develop those many interests which the claims of official duties have hitherto prevented him from following up as he would have wished.

Since graduating with his master's degree from the University of Michigan in 1893, Dr. Bishop has had a distinguished career. In 1898-99 he came to Europe as a Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, where he obtained a lasting insight into the life and mode of thought of its ancient peoples, with a command of their languages which served him in good stead, when, in 1925, under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation and the Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, and with their encouragement, he undertook to advise the authorities of the Vatican Library upon the improvement of its services, whether in respect of its manuscript, incunabula or other printed material, so as to render its rich collections more readily accessible to scholars than hitherto had been the case, by the introduction of improved methods of cataloguing.

Cardinal Tisserant, the Librarian of the Vatican, paid high tribute to Dr. Bishop in the memorial volume to which reference is made, for the invaluable service he has rendered by assisting the authorities to overcome the difficulties which such a project involves.

It was after his return from Rome in 1899 that Dr. Bishop entered upon his library career successively at Brooklyn, Princeton, Washington, and ultimately at Ann Arbor, where for twenty-six years he presided with so much distinction over the library of his Alma Mater, which has become one of the world's institutions of learning, largely as a result of the dedication to its service not only of his gifts of scholarship and character but also of his mastery of the science of librarianship.

Dr. Bishop has done more than most of us for the profession of librarianship, and has added dignity to it by his personal charm and scholarship. His many-sided activities have included the direction of the School of Librarianship which he inaugurated at Ann Arbor; the Presidency of the American Library

Association; of the Bibliographical Society of America; of the International Federation of Library Associations; and the Chairmanship of the advisory groups of the Carnegie Corporation on college, junior college and academic libraries, to mention only the most important.

Dr. Keppel, the President of the Carnegie Corporation, pays the highest possible tribute to the guiding hand and voice of Dr. Bishop in the deliberations and distributions of the Corporation and crowns it by declaring that in any distinguished company Dr. Bishop's voice was perhaps the most persuasive, and his word carried the most weight.

Other contributors to the volume who are equally complimentary in their appreciation of the virtues of our friend include, in addition to the editors, Dr. Herbert Putnam, Marcel Godet, Dr. Lomer, Dr. Isak Gustaf Collijn, and Sir Frederic Kenyon, who represents Dr. Bishop's friends on this side of the Atlantic, many of whom under normal conditions would have welcomed the opportunity of joining their overseas friends in their printed tributes.

In concluding these paragraphs we take the opportunity of wishing Dr. Bishop, and Mrs. Bishop—that gracious lady who for so many years has been his helpmeet and travelling companion—still many happy years of life in which to enjoy the leisure and freedom which this retirement offers.

PROFESSOR CHARLTON ON "HAMLET."

We welcome the opportunity of adding yet another to the brilliant series of interpretations of Shakespeare which Professor H. B. Charlton has contributed to our pages, from time to time, during the past twelve years.

On the present occasion he deals with "Hamlet," as a superb example of the art of tragedy, which formed the subject of the Spence Watson Memorial Lecture, which he was invited to deliver before the Newcastle-on-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, on the 23rd of March.

In the opening paragraphs Professor Charlton indicates for us a few general principles which seem to him to be the basis for all attempts to estimate values in the dramatic art of tragedy.

" It is interesting to learn that steps have already been taken to prepare for the time when an official history of the war will be undertaken. The Government have appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. E. A. Benians, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, to advise on the general plan of the official history of the war, and to provide a link between persons working on the history of the war, and the historical profession. Invitations to serve on the committee have been accepted by Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor F. M. Powicke, Regius Professor in Modern History, University of Oxford; Professor G. M. Clark, Chichele Professor of Economic History, University of Oxford; Professor R. H. Tawney, Professor of Economic History, University of London; Professor H. B. Butler, Warden of Nuffield College, Oxford; Mr. J. P. R. Maud, Master of Birkbeck College, London; Professor J. B. Mackie, Professor of Scottish History and Literature, University of Glasgow; Professor E. H. Carr, Wilson Professor of International Politics, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth; and Mr. C. T. Flower, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records."

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR.

The President of the National Union of Teachers in his presidential address at the annual conference, on Wednesday, the 9th of April, at Westminster, pleaded that a unified system of education did not mean uniformity, regimentation, or rigidity.

THE SCHOOL OF THE HUMANITIES.

" If in the classroom of the future State schools the son of a dustman sat side by side with the son of the Duke, so much the better for both. One of the things that stood in the way of social and educational unity was the so-called public school—and there was no school more private.

" It embodied and organised within the nation a privileged class. Many fine leaders had come through the public schools, but they were not of the same direct organic relationship with the community and the institutions around them as were the State schools.

" In the new world born out of the travail of present sacrifices the foundation-stone must be equality of educational opportunity for every child in the land."

Another speaker declared that "we want a democracy, and we cannot say that we have such a society in England. The first essential for that is that all children should spend their school life together irrespective of the incomes of their fathers.

"The present democracy was failing because our education had been far too competitive. We have thought of the individual career of the pupils and not taught them co-operation and living together as a community."

The speakers were evidently unaware that such a school as they advocated was founded at Mantua, by Vittorino da Feltre, in 1424, at the invitation of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, who requested Vittorino to undertake the education of his sons. The invitation was accepted, and for twenty-two years Vittorino devoted his life to the perfection of the first great school of the Renaissance.

It was the great typical school of the humanities, which combined with the educational apparatus of the classical literature the spirit of the Christian life, and the Greek passion for bodily culture.

In this ducal school of Mantua poor boys of special promise were gratuitously educated, together with the sons of wealthy parents who could pay the usual fees. All alike were under the immediate and personal influence of a master who taught them to regard the schoolroom as a holy place. The "Pleasant House," as it was called, amid playing fields, with lofty rooms made gay with pictures, was a palace of delight, where the sixty or seventy scholars of whatever rank were under the self-same discipline, and where their bodies, minds, and souls were under the eager, unremitting care of a sympathetic master, who was a Christian no less than a Humanist.

THE NEW COUNTY SYSTEM IN CHINA.

In the midst of great battles the Chinese people have quietly started to reorganise the political life of the nation on a truly democratic basis.

The story of the new county system (hsien) is neither dramatic nor sensational. It is a story that has to be told, for in the long run the new county system may prove to be the most significant political development in war-

time China, a development which may determine the nature of the Chinese body politic in many centuries to come.

In September, 1939, the National Government promulgated an Outline governing the Organisation of Various Local Units of the County Government. This is the basic law of the new county system, a home-rule system, which constitutes the very foundation of a modern democratic China.

The county is the administrative unit of the Chinese political system. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic, insists that the county government is the basis and the central government the superstructure of the nation. Not until all counties become self-governing cells will the nation have a second democratic body politic.

Therefore, pending the inauguration of a constitutional government in the national capital, which, it has been decided, will take place as soon as the war is over, a new home-rule system is being put into operation.

In the Chinese political system, the provincial governments are creatures and house agencies of the central government, while the county governments are autonomous units of administration.

China is divided into twenty-eight provinces (including the four provinces in the North-East and excluding the territories of Outer Mongolia and Tibet), which in turn are divided into 1934 counties. The National Government has instructed the provincial governments to institute as soon as possible the new home-rule system in all the counties. At the end of May, 1941, it was reported that more than 700 counties in 18 provinces had been reorganised into autonomous administrative units. Probably by this time the number of counties so reorganised has reached 1000.

Thus, in spite of the war that has necessitated greater centralization of power in the National Government than ever before in recent times, the Chinese people have been moving steadily toward the goal of democracy—a goal early envisaged by Laotsze and Confucius, and recently advocated by Sun Yat-sen. (Gleaned from " Contemporary China," 23rd February, 1942.)

THE ARABIAN NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS.

The Case Memorial Library at Hartford recently received as a gift, what is described as " the greatest collection of ' The Arabian Nights ' in the world."

The donor was Dr. Duncan Black Macdonald, Professor-Emeritus of Semitic Languages at the Hartford Theological Seminary, and former Head of the Muslim Department of the Kennedy School of Missions. Dr. Macdonald has the reputation of being the greatest living authority on the " Arabian Nights."

The collection comprises upwards of 1000 volumes in the various editions and languages of the " Arabian Nights," together with photostat copies of the manuscripts of the " Nights " in the Vatican Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale, and one of " Ali Baba," in the Bodleian, which had been unknown, even to Sir Richard Burton, until Dr. Macdonald discovered it.

Some of the editions are so rare as not to be found in any of the great libraries. The languages into which the " Nights " have been translated are : Bengalese, Canarese, Chinese, Dutch, English, French, Gaelic, German, Greek, Hindustani, Italian, Japanese, Javanese, Polish, Scottish, Swedish, Tamil, Telugu, Turkish, Persian and Urdu.

The first translation into any European language was made by Antoine Galland into French. He commenced by translating " Sinbad the Sailor," and his translation in 12 volumes was published between the years 1704 and 1716.

There is no definite date for the first English translation, although a Grubb Street version appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century with the invented title " Arabian Nights' Entertainments," which has stuck to it ever since. This was translated from an edition of Galland printed in Holland. In 1709 a collection of stories, ascribed to Charles Gildon, appeared under the title : " The Golden Spy ; or a Political Journal of the British Nights' Entertainments of War and Peace and Love and Politics," in the dedication of which to Swift, it is stated that the Arabian and Turkish tales were owing to his " Tale of a Tub." There are three English editions, the first in 8 volumes published in London, 1715-18, printed for Andrew Bell at the

Cross Keys and Bible in Cornhill; the other editions are of 12 volumes, published in 1738 and 1745.

The first translator of the 19th century was Henry Torrens, an Irishman and a brilliant figure in the Indian Civil Service, who produced a version of the first fifty nights in 1838. Although his version is often inaccurate and is not complete it is full of the atmosphere of the East. The appearance of Edward William Lane's translation (1839-42) stopped the publication of the Torrens version. Lane was a fine scholar, and no student of Muslim lore can afford to disregard his work, because of the elaborate commentaries, and the light he sheds on the life, manners, and customs of the mediæval Arabs. John Payne's version (1882-84) is quite complete, and is said to be the best in English. The next translator was Sir Richard Burton, who knew oriental life through and through, but his style makes his version less easy to read than that of Lane, from whom he drew freely.

The German translations range from 1823 to 1921, and are by Gustav Weil, Max Henning, Maximilian Habicht, Joseph von Hammer, and Enno Littmann.

Dr. Macdonald, writing in the *Nation* in 1900, describes what a good translation of the "Nights" must have. Only three translations stand out as literature: those of Galland, Torrens and Payne. Payne's success was achieved by making the "Nights" over into a European fairybook, while the secret of Galland and Torrens was "illusion." "These qualities, then, he must have: imagination and the power of stirring it, the lyric faculty, and a judgment to be shown in prudent veilings, without hints 'we might an' we would.' He need have little Arabic, but he must intimately know the East. He must be an artist in literature, and not a student in language; there has been enough of that. He must be ready to give himself and yet remain in the background; to be a recreator, and be reckoned a mechanical."

(These paragraphs have been drawn from, or suggested by, a report by Elizabeth de W. Root, Custodian of the Arabian Nights Collection, which appeared in "Hartford Echos," of Nov., 1941.)

'ALĪ ṬABARĪ'S "BOOK OF RELIGION AND EMPIRE."

The following note on the authenticity of 'Alī Ṭabarī's "Book of Religion and Empire," which was translated, with a critical apparatus, from an apparently unique MS. in the Rylands Library, by Alphonse Mingana, is reprinted from the "Moslem World," July, 1941, and was communicated by M. Perlmann, of Brooklyn :—

'Alī b. Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī's *K. ad-daula wa-d-dīn* is a work of Muslim polemic directed against Christians. It was written in the middle of the 9th century. A. Mingana based his edition and translation (1922-23) on a unique MS. dated 1219. Doubts were expressed about the authenticity of the work. Though on the whole they were rejected, it was rather odd that this work of 'Alī Ṭabarī seemed nowhere quoted or mentioned by any other author.[1]

It appears, though, that one such case has been overlooked. In this case the work or its title is not mentioned directly, but 'Alī Ṭabarī is named as the source of Bible quotations in Arabic. A lengthy quotation is given in full. It can be found also in the text of Mingana's edition. It may be assumed, therefore, that we have here an evidence authenticating 'Alī Ṭabarī's book, which is a Bible quarry for the Muslim controversialist.

Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī in his "Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb," Vol. I, 486 f., quotes some predictions from the Bible about the advent of Muḥammad (*a'lām*) as they had been handed down (nuḳila 'an) in the name of 'Alī Ṭabarī, without any further specification of this indication.[2] The lengthy quotation is from Hab. iii. 3-13, and corresponds to pp. 103-4 of the edition (119-20 of the translation).[3]

[1] Fritsch, "Islam u Christ," D. S. Margoliouth, Proc. Brit. Ac. XVI ; D. B. Macdonald, "Moslem World," 1925, pp. 210 f.

[2] Clue in Schreiner's article, ZDMG 42, pp. 645 f., n. 4.

[3] The quotation from Habakkuk occurs with slight variations in Ibn-Ḳutayba ("Beitr. z. Ass.," III, p. 48), Māwardī ("Sem. St. in mem. of A. Kohut," p. 508), Ḳarāfī (Bechechi-Zade, "Farḳ," p. 257 margin). Ibn-Ḳayyim al-Jauziya quotes it from Ibn-Ḳutayba ("Farḳ," p. 389, and Vol. II, p. 6 marg.). On the affinity of 'Alī Ṭabarī and of Ibn-Ḳutayba in their translations, cf. Schreiner in "Sem. St. in mem. of A. Kohut," p. 497, and F. Taeschner in "Or. Christ," 1934.

RYLANDS' PUBLIC LECTURES.

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Wednesday, 6th May, 1942, "Greece's Rôle as a Balkan and a Mediterranean Power," by His Excellency M. Michalopoulos, Under-Secretary of Information—Greek Government. Wednesday 13th May, 1942, "The Modern Greeks, their Character and Literature," by Demetrios Capetanakis, Professor of Greek Literature, now at the Greek Ministry of Information. Wednesday, 20th May, 1942, "The Theatre and Poetry in Greece To-day," by Alexander Matsas, Secretary to the Greek Foreign Office, Department of Information.

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A volume of 50 ff. containing records of Courts of John Warren, Esq., for the Barony of Stockport, co. Chester, 1659-69. (Deposited by the Society of Genealogists.)

Forty-eight deeds relating to Rochdale, co. Lancs, 1610-1754. (Presented by Mrs. Hopton of Clyro, Hereford, *per* F. C. Morgan, Esq., The Librarian, The Public Library, Hereford.)

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One hundred and fifty-five miscellaneous Lancashire deeds, 18th-19th cent. (Deposited by the British Records Association.)

Twenty-five deeds relating to Over Darwen, Ightenhill Park, Lancaster, Myerscough and Padiham, co. Lancs, 19th cent. (Presented by the Hon. Rachel Kay-Shuttleworth.)

Lease of a farm in Reddish, co. Lancs, 1829. (Presented by Roland Austin, Esq., Records Office, Shire Hall, Gloucester.)

Boyhood Diary (1828-29) of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, later Dean of Westminster, together with eighty-three of his letters, written while he was at Seaforth.

STANLEY PAPERS.

Among recent accessions to the manuscript department are two nineteenth-century collections from the family papers of the Stanleys of Alderley. The larger, which in addition to its local interest provides an interesting source for social history, comprises some four hundred letters written to the Hon. Lyulph Stanley, later 4th Lord Stanley and 4th Lord Sheffield. His correspondents are mostly members of his family, writing to him in the eighteen fifties, sixties and seventies, years which cover the period when he was at Eton and Oxford. Particularly numerous are the letters from his mother, Henrietta Maria, Lady Stanley, a pioneer of women's education and, in her later years, a friend of Jowett. Two letters from Jowett, in fact, occur and his name is found with some frequency in various portions of this correspondence. Lyulph Stanley's advanced Radical tendencies were well known, and another small group bears witness to his interest in working men's associations

in the Oldham district. Fifteen letters to him from Sarah A. Dorsey, the American authoress, are also included. Rather earlier in date is another collection of letters which, together with a diary, were written by Dean Stanley and are associated with his boyhood at Seaforth, the private school to which he went in September, 1824, and from which, in January, 1829, he passed to Rugby. The main surviving source for his early years, both letters and diary were drawn on by Prothero for his "Life and Letters of Dean Stanley," in which a few extracts from each are printed. The diary, two small volumes of ninety-two pages, contains a full narrative account of Stanley's tour in the Pyrenees in 1828. Its most remarkable features are perhaps the keen observation and minute and vigorous description which are shown throughout. As Prothero has noticed, it is difficult at times to realise that this is the unstudied and unaffected journal of a schoolboy of twelve. Together with the letters and diary were acquired a rental of the estates of Sir John Thomas Stanley in Cheshire in 1781-82, and a household account book of 1784. The whole forms an interesting addition to the Stanley of Alderley papers in the Library.

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# HAMLET.[1]

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THE themes which *Hamlet* has prompted are innumerable: with most of them—and with all those which are part of the technique of historical scholarship—I shall have no concern in this lecture. For instance, the textual problems, the relationship of the quartos and the folio version, the source of the story, its relation to an earlier Hamlet play: these I pass by entirely. For my present purpose by Shakespeare's *Hamlet* I mean the play with that name which you find in any reputable modern edition of Shakespeare's works: and the fact that there are many variations in the texts of these editions will not affect my argument. My sole affair is with *Hamlet* as a superb example of the art of tragedy.

But at the outset I must indicate a few general principles which seem to me to be the basis for all attempts to estimate values in the dramatic art of tragedy. Tragedy is a form of poetry, and, like all poetry, came into being to gratify certain of the deeper instincts of human nature; and that is another way of saying that tragedy exists to give to men its own particular kind of artistic pleasure. No one compels us to read or see tragedy; we choose to do so for our own gratification. Maybe the gratification is an austere and exalted enjoyment; pleasure, however, it certainly is. But how can man find pleasure in the spectacle of a noble tragic hero swept ruthlessly to his destruction? Only a pervert would admit to joy at the sight of human destruction; how then is the destruction in tragedy exalted to provide a reasonable and virtuous delight?

[1] Based on a lecture given as the Spence Watson Memorial Lecture before the Newcastle-on-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society on the 23rd of March, 1942.

The fatal ending must not appear as an exhibition arbitrarily contrived by the dramatist. The tragic author must exonerate himself completely from all complicity in his hero's death. The hero's fate is not at the author's choice; it springs irresistibly from the ultimate nature of things. The dramatist is not devising a spectacle. His imaginative vision has glimpses of the ways of destiny: he simply reveals his hero's death as an inevitable outcome of universal laws. That is, in a word, the fundamental note of tragedy, a sense conjured in us by the miracle of art convincing us that the action we are seeing must sweep irresistibly to its inevitable end. The inevitable is impressed on us not exclusively, and often not mainly, as a purely intellectual conviction. It is a state of feeling in which intellectual satisfaction is only one element, often, too, an element which afterthought alone makes conscious to us. Indeed, intellectual acquiescence is all that is immediately required: one is aroused to feel that the action is inevitable, but reason cannot formulate the ultimate principles which make it inevitable. The riddle of the universe remains; and mystery is still one of the major elements in human life. The tragic dramatist has a larger awareness than ours, and the profit of it to us is not so much that he diminishes the ultimate mystery, but that he enables us to grasp the knowable and the mysterious as elements in a potential universe, a cosmic system whose laws are inscrutable, but indisputably are laws.

Put in its simplest form, the question to ask of each tragedy, is, "Why does its hero die?" From great tragedy the only answer is, "Because, such being the nature of things, he inevitably must": and part, but part only, of the grounds for this conviction of his inevitable end, it will be possible to state in reasoned form. The scope within which such ratiocinative sanction contributes to the necessary absoluteness of final conviction is very different in modern tragedy from what it was in Greek tragedy. All turns on the extent and the nature of a common religious belief. Broadly speaking, the Greek conception of Nemesis as the ultimate Necessity, in the last resort the arbiter of the universe and all that is therein, gods and men alike, is a magnificent philosophic back-cloth for the tragic

scene. The inherent force of the moral order of the cosmos exerts itself to redress distortions of its nature, and to restore the stability by which it endures. Hence purely personal problems of individual motive are insignificant compared with the outcome of the deed done. Man, trusting to his own judgment, may determine to dispense himself from one obligation to fulfil what he regards as a higher good. Prometheus, for the benefit of mankind, steals fire from heaven. But, despite the motive, his act is an infraction of the highest good ; his conscious motive was worthy, but his unconscious motive was *hubris*, pride. So he suffers a tragic doom. Or Œdipus also sins, but in sheer ignorance. Still, the offence has come, and woe even to the unwitting offender through whom it comes. Here, then, is the inevitability of Greek tragedy. This doom must follow this act, because all religiously believe that such is the course of destiny.

But when modern tragedy started in the sixteenth century there was no such universal agreement about the ways of God with man, and, above all, the one common and dominant element in Europe's religion was apparently far less apt to tragedy. Christianity seemed to remove the foundations of the whole tragic scheme. Seeing life on earth as a mere moment in immortality, it took finality from death ; and it made sin mainly a matter of personal responsibility. The doctrine of redemption promised salvation for all except the worst of the wicked ; and death on earth, for all but these, was but a gateway to everlasting bliss. So, a really tragic doom is reserved alone for the entirely reprobate : the evil man is destroyed by his iniquity. But is this really tragic ? On the contrary, is it not a gratifying assurance of the Christian hope ?

Whether these speculations on the apparent incompatibility between the traditional groundwork of tragedy and the tenets of Christianity are sound or not, one thing is certain : the tragedians of the new tragedy, Shakespeare and his fellows, seem to have thrust the Christian articles of current belief far into the background of consciousness. There is, for instance, in all Shakespeare's tragedies no admission of the Christian conception of immortality. As with *Hamlet*, after death " the

rest is silence ". Perhaps the potency of the artist stirs instincts buried more deeply in us than the feelings grafted on to a comparatively new faith ; maybe he liberates primitive sensations of the early man we all inherit from the time when death was a final extinction. However that may be, the result is that, in essence, whereas the foundation of Greek tragedy was religion, that of Shakespeare's tragedy is not. Elizabethan tragedy had perforce to explore other sources of the indispensable inevitability, the ultimate Necessity. The most effective one it found in the newly discovered wonder of human personality. What a piece of work is man ! Here, in the hidden resources of will, the unmeasurable strength of passion, the uncountable vagaries of impulse were the powers which patently participated in the shaping of destiny, though, of course, they did not finally determine it. So in Elizabethan drama, character becomes the smith of fortune, if not entirely of fate : and tragic drama finds its *ultima ratio*, its spring of inevitability, in the interplay of man and the world, in which the subtle though elusive link of psychological cause and effect gives to events sufficient appearance of a cosmic order. The mind of the reader is moved to acquiescence, his imagination sweeps him into the total acceptance which is for the moment absolute conviction.

For this reason, most inquirers into Shakespeare's tragic genius have occupied themselves with his instinct for characterisation, and expositions of his tragedies have been largely given to an analysis of the characters of his tragic heroes. It is that course which we propose to adopt with *Hamlet*.

Ostensibly its plot is simple. A son is called upon to kill his father's murderer. The son was wellnigh the perfect pattern of manhood, rich in the qualities which make for excellence in the full life of one who in himself is scholar, soldier and courtier. The murdered father, moreover, was dearly loved, one of such worthiness that the earth seldom produces his like. The murderer was not only wicked with the common wickedness of murderers ; the man he murdered was his brother, and he took to himself not only the murdered man's crown but also his widow. The situation appears even extravagantly simple. The moment the son hears of the murder, he resolves that with wings as swift

as meditation or the thoughts of love, he will sweep to his revenge. There appears to be no reason on earth why he should not, could not, do it in the next moment. Yet the whole stuff of the play is that he did not and could not do so. He fails until in the end by an unpremeditated stroke, he kills his uncle by his own last human act. Why then did he fail? What is the inevitability of his doom?

He fails because he is himself, Hamlet, and because the particular circumstance he is called upon to encounter proves itself to be precisely of the sort which a man such as he cannot surmount. It is obvious that even in this statement of the situation, there are elements belonging to the mysteries of life which the drama leaves in their own inscrutable darkness. Why, for instance, was Hamlet the sort of man he was, and why did he chance to be born with such an uncle and in times so very much out of joint? These are questions for all who seek a complete metaphysic; but they are neither raised nor answered in the play. Shakespeare takes it for granted as his starting-point that Hamlet is the sort of man he is, and that he was born to such circumstances as those in which we see him move. Round that smaller orb which engrosses Shakespeare's dramatic genius, his poetic imagination throws the sense of more ultimate mysteries, the speculative possibilities undreamed of by philosophy, and the vast dubieties of thought which wander through eternity. But for his human purpose, the play is the thing: and the play is a revelation of how Hamlet, being the man he is, founders on the circumstances which he is called upon to face.

What, then, is there in Hamlet's nature to bring about this disaster? Why does he not kill his uncle forthwith? Teased by the problem, men have propounded many solutions, all of them abstractly possible, and many of them partly warranted by some trait or another in Hamlet's character. Let us look at some of these suggestions.

First of them: Hamlet is clearly a man of fine moral susceptibilities, so exquisite in his sense of right that questions such as that of chastity, and even of the purity of second marriage, touch him deeply. He is disgusted wellnigh to frenzy by the

thought of impurity. Hence, it is held, he was bound to find killing, though the killing of a villain, an immoral deed; still more, he was bound to find the act of killing a loathsome experience from which his sensitiveness would recoil. But though these are qualities commonly associated with to-day's men of fine moral fibre, they are not in themselves, nor even now, a necessary adjunct of high morality. Moreover, their association with fineness of soul is of very recent growth: no human sentiment has spread so fruitfully as has the one we call humanitarianism, but its modern form is largely a product of the eighteenth century and after; witness the crusades for penal and social reforms in the last two centuries. But in Shakespeare's day a man could be hanged for pilfering, even for wandering without visible means of subsistence. And certainly Hamlet has no squeamishness at the sight of blood, and no abstract compunctions about the taking of life. "Now could I drink hot blood", he says in one of his passions; and a skilled fencer such as he is no more likely to swoon on seeing blood than is a surgeon. Or hear how he talks about the body of Polonius, a body which would still have been alive had Hamlet not just made it a corpse. "I'll lug the guts into the neighbour room." This is no anti-vivisectionist's utterance! Nor is Hamlet's mind preoccupied with the sanctity of individual life. He has killed Polonius, not of intent, but by mistake; and Polonius was once to have been his father-in-law. Yet how easily, complacently, and even callously, he puts the incident aside:

> Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!
> I took thee for thy better: take thy fortune;
> Thou find'st to be too busy is some danger.

Further, when he plans the death of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, there is a positive gloating in his anticipation of the condign punishment—execution, in fact—which, by his contrivance, is in store for them:

> For, 'tis the sport to have the engineer
> Hoist with his own petar: and 't shall go hard
> But I will delve one yard below their mines
> And blow them at the moon.

Perhaps even more incompatible with Hamlet's alleged humanitarian recoil from bloodshed is his soliloquy, as, passing by the king at prayer, he contemplates killing him, but desists :

> Now might I do it pat, now he is praying ;
> And now I'll do 't. And so he goes to heaven ;
> And so am I revenged. That would he scanned.

To kill the king in such circumstances, he decides, would be doing the king a favour, " hire and salary ", not revenge. And he decides to defer the killing until its consequences will be fraught with the direst horrors :

> Am I then revenged,
> To take him in the purging of his soul,
> When he is fit and season'd for his passage ?
> No !
> Up, sword ; and know thou a more horrid hent ;
> When he is drunk asleep, or in his rage,
> Or in the incestuous pleasure of his bed ;
> At gaming, swearing, or about some act
> That has no relish of salvation in 't ;
> Then trip him, that his heels may kick at heaven,
> And that his soul may be as damn'd and black
> As hell, whereto it goes.

In the face of these instances, it is surely wrong to detect modern sentiments and susceptibilities about bloodshed in the constraints obstructing Hamlet's achievement of his object.

Perhaps the intrusion of a present-day point of view is also responsible for the notion that Hamlet is seriously withheld by a growing feeling of some insufficiency in the evidence on which he has pledged himself to avenge his father's murder. He begins really to distrust the testimony of the ghost, we are asked to believe, and, of course, the suggestion is easily taken in an age like ours which is eminently sceptical about the supernatural. But does Hamlet ever seriously question the ghost's authenticity and the reliability of his intimations ? Nominally he does, of course : but are these genuine doubts or are they excuses in the sense that they are his attempts to rationalise his delay after it has occurred ?

One thing is certain, when Hamlet sees and listens to the

ghost, there is not even the faintest hint of possible deception. He takes the spectre for what it really is, the spirit of his dead father. Moreover, the tale the ghost tells him fits exactly into his instinctive knowledge of his wicked uncle. " O, my prophetic soul, my uncle ! " is his immediate conviction of the truth of the ghost's evidence. He does not mean that he suspected his uncle of murder ; he means that he has always felt that his uncle was a villain, and now the tale of the murder provides him with particular confirmation. Hamlet's acceptance of the ghost is instantaneous and absolute : and in the relative calm following the exacting encounter, he assures his friends—" It is an honest ghost ". The first intimation from Hamlet that he is apparently wavering in this confidence comes only after the lapse of considerable time—and therefore when Hamlet must feel self-reproach at his tardiness. The time-lapse is made clear by the introduction of seemingly extraneous incidents. Laertes has gone back to Paris, and Polonius is sending his " spy " there to see how Laertes is settling down. More striking, there is the dull drawn-out tale of the dispute between Denmark and Norway ; a dramatically tedious scene is occupied by the instructions to the emissaries. These fulfil their mission and have returned to Denmark. Some time, therefore, some months, it would seem, have elapsed, and Hamlet's uncle still lives. Hamlet surely must needs justify his delay to his own soul. One can almost watch the plea of distrust in the ghost thrusting itself as an excuse into his mind. Chance has brought the players to the court. As Hamlet meets them, his former intellectual interests immediately reassert themselves : he becomes first-nighter and amateur dramatic critic again. There is green-room talk, and an actor or two is asked to go over a familiar speech. At the end, Hamlet asks them to have ready for the morrow a murder play, into which he will insert some dozen or sixteen lines. Of course, the murder is in his mind, and a few lines easily added to a murder play will sharpen its application, and will make the murderer writhe. But there is no hint yet that such writhing is anything more than a murderer's deserts. Indeed, the moment the players leave Hamlet, he reproaches himself bitterly for a rogue and peasant slave, since fictitious grief can force a player

to more passion than real grief arouses in Hamlet himself. What, thinks Hamlet, what would such a man do,

> Had he the motive and the cue for passion
> That I have?

That is, he accepts entirely the ghost's tale of his uncle's villainy. Indeed he continues to reprove his inexplicable delay. "Am I a coward?" and in bitter scorn of his own apparent inaction, he heaps contempt on himself:

> Swounds, I should take it: for it cannot be
> But I am pigeon-liver'd and lack gall
> To make oppression bitter, or ere this
> I should have fatted all the region kites
> With this slave's offal.

In the heat of his searing self-analysis, he repeats the indictment of his uncle with complete conviction:

> bloody, bawdy villain!
> Remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindless villain!

It is at that very moment that he first confides in us the purpose of the play he has planned for the morrow. He knows, of course, that instead of dabbling in theatricals, he should be sharpening his sword: and so he tells himself—and us—that the play is really a necessary part of his main plot:

> I have heard
> That guilty creatures sitting at a play
> Have by the very cunning of the scene
> Been struck so to the soul that presently
> They have proclaimed their malefactions;
> For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak
> With most miraculous organ. I'll have these players
> Play something like the murder of my father
> Before mine uncle: I'll observe his looks;
> I'll tent him to the quick: if he but blench,
> I know my course. The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil: and the devil hath power
> To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
> Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
> As he is very potent with such spirits,
> Abuses me to damn me: I'll have grounds
> More relative than this: the play's the thing,
> Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king.

But the plea is specious, too palpable; it is Hamlet excusing himself for dissipating his energies and side-tracking his duty, for the execution of which he had so passionately reiterated the full and entire grounds a moment before. Moreover, how real can the need for confirmation of the ghost's story be when, though the plan to provide it is spectacularly successful, the success is not followed by the slightest overt move to complete the alleged scheme? "If he but blench, I know my course." But he knew it already; and the additional item of credit now obtained, like his previous knowledge, leaves him passive.

Further, if the play within the play was devised by Hamlet to give him a really necessary confirmation of the ghost's evidence, why is that the moment he chooses to utter his profoundest expression of despair—"To be, or not to be, that is the question". For, if his difficulty is what he says it is, this surely is the moment when the strings are all in his own hands. He has by chance found an occasion for an appropriate play, and, as the king's ready acceptance of the invitation to attend shows, he can be morally certain that the test will take place; and so, if one supposes him to need confirmation, he will really know. Yet this very situation finds him in the depths of despair. Can he really have needed the play within the play? The point is of some importance—because in the 1603 Quarto of *Hamlet*, this "To be, or not to be" speech occurs before Hamlet has devised the incriminating play. In the 1604 and later versions, the speech comes where we now read it. I know no more convincing argument that the 1604 Quarto is a master-dramatist's revision of his own first draft of a play.

Characteristic, too, is the nature of his alleged misgivings: it turns on the function and the nature of devils in general—"the devil hath power to assume a pleasing shape". But no stretch of words could describe Hamlet's encounter with the ghost as an appointment with a "pleasing shape". As we shall see, his account is as philosophically valid and as particularly inept as are all his generalisations. The fact is patent. He knew it was an honest ghost; he knew that its tale was true: and, not having fulfilled his promise to act on it, his moral nature could only be contented by plausible excuses.

And so one might go over other alleged explanations of Hamlet's inaction. There is the flat suggestion that he was restrained by material difficulties: he did not know how the Danes would look on his uncle's death, and he did not know how he could plan the *coup*. But these need not take our time. Hamlet could rely on the people's approval of almost anything he should choose to do; even Laertes had no trouble in rousing their suspicion of the new king. Moreover, no *coup* was needed; one stroke of the sword was all that was necessary; and, as we have seen, when Hamlet forgoes the opportunity, it is not for fear of the people's disapproval, but because to kill the king at prayers would despatch him to heaven and not to the hell he deserves. He never doubted that he had cause and will and strength and means to do it.

More difficult to set aside is the Freudian or the semi- or pseudo-Freudian explanation that a mother- or a sex-complex is the primary cause of Hamlet's delay. But the difficulty is one of terminology, not one of substance. The Elizabethans believed that a man could love his mother without being in love with her or without unconsciously lusting for her. Hamlet's filial love for his mother is certainly a main cause of his estrangement from the people who inhabit the world in which he lives, the world in which he must build his own soul. Certainly, too, her o'er hasty re-marriage shatters the pillars of his moral universe. He has lived in an ideal world—that is, a world fashioned in his own idea—in which chastity is a main prop: and when he finds that, of all the women in the world, it is his own mother who seems unaware of this mainstay of the moral order, the structure topples over him. The only way to preserve purity is for womankind to seclude themselves from men: "get thee to a nunnery": and Ophelia becomes a source of contagion. "Why shouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?" But sterility is a denial of life; as a moral injunction it is the tragic negation of morality. It is, however, only the young imaginative idealist's intellectual world which is fractured: but so far that is Hamlet's main, if not his only, world.

Consider, for instance, the difference in depth between his first soliloquy—"O, that this too too solid flesh" and the later

one, "To be, or not to be". Both are contemplations of suicide. But what a world of difference between the constraining sanctions! When Hamlet speaks the first soliloquy, all that he knows to his own grief is that his father has died, and that his mother has married again o'er hastily. Neither he nor anybody else has any suspicion that murder, and murder most foul and most unnatural, has been done. His father has died from natural causes. But this death and, still more, his mother's re-marriage, have reduced his universe to chaos. His rich and exquisitely sensitive nature, the observed of all observers, has suffered a shock which starts it reeling. A father dead, and untimely dead, though in itself a common experience, yet prompts sceptical scrutiny of divine providence; but worse still, a mother so soon married again seems to reveal an even more immediate despair; for here, not the divine but the human will seems to be working without moral sensibility. Yet the seat of the sorrow is nothing near so deep in human experience as is that which Hamlet utters when later he knows that his father has been murdered by his uncle.

In the first soliloquy, "O, that this too too solid flesh", Hamlet is not so much actively contemplating suicide as passively longing to be dead. And the respect which makes it unthinkable to resort to self-slaughter is that the Everlasting has set his canon against it. In a way, there is something of a pose in the gesture: as if a young poet peering into the waters of a pool, should long for the eternal quiet of its depths, but should be kept to the bank for fear the water should be too cold. How much deeper in human nature are the constraints which withhold the Hamlet of the "To be, or not to be" soliloquy! No merely intellectual recognition of a theological injunction, but a primitive fear of the unknown after-world. "What dreams may come when we have shuffled off this mortal coil." The first speech is that of a sensitive soul in spiritual discomfort, the second is that of a man in profound despair. The discovery of the murder of his father by his uncle, of an act of uttermost human sacrilege, drives him to abysses of grief deeper than those occasioned by his mother's frailty. Something more human, more overt and intelligible than Freudian hypothesis is the main stress of Hamlet's tragic incapacitation.

So far our explorations of the source of Hamlet's doom have been negative, statements of the inadequacy of suggested causes of it. But cannot something positive be propounded? Why cannot Hamlet perform the simple and righteous act of killing his uncle? The root of the trouble is generally agreed. He is " too much sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought ". That's the respect which makes calamity of life; he thinks too much, and conscience, that is (in the use of the word here), persistent rumination, makes cowards of us all—

> . . . some craven scruple
> Of thinking too precisely on the event,
> A thought which, quarter'd, hath but one part wisdom
> And ever three parts coward.

He is, we are told, a philosopher, and the habit of thinking unfits him for the practical needs of doing: and, of course, popular opinion will easily take it that a thinker is a dreamer, and a dreamer is incapable of ready and effective action. But is this easy assumption sufficient to explain Hamlet's failure? Moreover, if it be true, is it not a proposition which must give us pause, especially those of us who as teachers are mainly bent on encouraging the world to think? If thought is but a snare, to what shall we turn? Thinking, in itself, is surely what we all take to be the world's greatest need: if in itself it is an incapacitating and impractical activity, then the sooner our schools, our universities, and our literary and philosophical societies are abolished, the better.

Nor will it do to say that Hamlet fails, not because he thinks, but because he thinks too much. In one sense, if thought is what will save the world, there cannot be too much of it. In another, if all that is meant is that Hamlet thinks too often, then clearly this is no matter for tragedy: it is merely a question of a revised time-table—more time to be allocated for field sports and other non-intellectual forms of activity.

What is wrong is not that Hamlet thinks or thinks too much or too often, but that his way of thinking frustrates the object of thought. It is the kind of distortion to which cerebration is liable when it is fired by a temperamental emotionalism and guided by an easily excited imagination. The emotion thrusts

one factor of the thinker's experience into especial prominence, and the imagination freely builds a speculative universe to which this prominence is a fundamental prop. Hence, the business of thinking overreaches itself. The mind's function to build an intellectual pattern of reality becomes a capacity to build patterns, and the relation of these patterns to reality is misapprehended, if not discounted entirely. In the main, this way of thinking constructs a cosmic picture which only serves to give apparent validity to what the feeling of the person and of the moment makes most immediately significant. But examples will help to make the effect of it apparent. They will be better, because more certainly characteristic of the more normal working of Hamlet's mind, if they are taken from scenes before Hamlet is given the additional shock of discovery that his uncle is a murderer and has murdered his father. There are sufficient of them in his first soliloquy.

The scene of it is worth recalling to establish other qualities of Hamlet which are usually overlooked. He is the hero: and we glorify his earlier appearances unconsciously. But in this first episode, he is not an altogether attractive person. The Court is in session: he is in the royal train, but not a part of it. In manner, in dress, and in place, he is staging his contemptuous aloofness from it. He stands apart, taking no share in the social formalities of the occasion, and he draws attention to his aloofness by an extravagant garb of mourning and by excessive display of conventional gestures of grief. He is swathed in elaborate black: his "inky cloak", on top of his "customary suits of solemn black" in full funereal fashion prescribed by the sixteenth-century mortician, his incessantly repeated sighs, his perpetual flow of tears, his fixed deflection of gaze: these are trappings and suits of conventional woe whose emphasis reflects suspicion of insincerity on their wearer, or at least, until a relative judgment is possible, mark him as liable to such suspicion. Nor is this possibility of a Pharisaic isolation weakened by memory of his only other words, his earlier sardonic interjections and his affectedly humorous comments on the king's greeting.

Hence, when he soliloquises, our willingness to sympathise with a son whose father has died and whose mother has hastily

married again is suspended by our suspicion of the son's leaning to morbidity. His words appear to justify suspicion to the full :

> O, that this too too solid flesh would melt,
> Thaw and resolve itself into a dew !
> Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
> His canon 'gainst self-slaughter !

We have seen that the utterance of a wish for death in such phrase lacks the convincing urgency of the constraints expressed in the incalculable fears of the " To be, or not to be " speech. His imagination goes on to explore illimitable stretches of despair ; " weary " and " stale " and " flat " and " unprofitable " are the suggestions by which it deprives the uses of the world of all value. " Things rank and gross in nature possess it merely." Yet the absoluteness of this denunciation prompts our question. Hamlet has hitherto enjoyed a privileged life, and the good things of the world, material and spiritual, have been at his disposal : but the passionate grief of the moment blots these out of his intellectual picture of the universe. His next remarks let us see how such obliviousness and its consequent distorted sense of reality are natural to Hamlet's mode of speculation. " But two months dead." Much will happen to these two months as Hamlet fits them into their place in his scheme of things ; the fact that as a lapse of time they are in themselves a part of physical nature, unalterable and absolute, will be completely forgotten. " That it should come to this " : Hamlet's desperate anger heats his mind. " But two months dead "—an incredibly short span wherein such things should have happened. " Nay, not so much, not two." The notion of a real measure of time, and of its unthinkable brevity for such occasion, is caught up by Hamlet's imagination, still further excited by intermitted recollection of the overwhelming difference between the dead husband and his successor—" Hyperion to a satyr ". So the nearly two months is seized by the mind, not as a physical fact, but as a concept of brevity, just as thought habitually converts minutes into moments ; and the concept is translated into imaginative symbols which will provide the framework of Hamlet's intellectual cosmology. " A little month ", little, that is, not objectively in relation to other months, but little in

relation to the moral idea of propriety. As his imagination lashes his anger, other symbols still further hide the natural measure of a month.

> Or 'ere those shoes were old
> With which she follow'd my poor father's body—

the slip of the time-scheme here is perhaps not easily assessable, since we have no exact information as to how long a queen's shoes are held to be wearable. But the final symbolic expression for this " little month "—

> Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears
> Had left the flushing in her galled eyes—

can be estimated more readily, for the world knows how long it takes to remove signs of weeping from the complexion. This is what Hamlet's mind perpetually does. With the philosopher's genius for intellectual creation, it fashions an image of the universe, but in the fashioning patently distorts fundamental elements of that universe. The world, as his mind builds it, ceases to be a representation of the world as in fact it is.

This very soliloquy includes another striking instance of similar intellectual transformation. As he remembers his mother's lapse, his passion prompts the general condemnation—" Frailty, thy name is woman ". As far as one knows, Hamlet, of all the women in the world, has known but two—his mother and Ophelia. His mother has unexpectedly proved " frail ", but, in the Elizabethan sense of the word, Ophelia is entirely free of such charge. Yet the generalisation—all women are frail. Again, the mind's picture of life is a distortion of real life.

This does not, of course, mean that Hamlet's thinking is generally or regularly so prone to fallacious conclusions. His philosophic grasp of much of life's riddle is sure and permanent : and imagination has prompted his discoveries. But when the thought springs from a particular incident which moves his own feelings to new depths, imagination leads his speculations awry. Into the fate of men at large he has a deep and a broad view : he holds the macrocosm more securely than the microcosm of his own personal experiences. Hence the magnificent appeal of the most famous of all the speeches in the play—" To be, or not to be ". Here is a purely philosophical or speculative

statement of the general tragedy of man. The problem is a universal, not a particular, one—

> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
> And by opposing end them ?

That is, it is not really a question of whether Hamlet shall commit suicide, but whether all men ought not to do so. For Hamlet is a metaphysician, not a psychologist ; he is speculative, but not essentially introspective. The ills of life are the heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to—all men's flesh, and not Hamlet's in particular. Indeed, when he recites his examples of men's outrageous fortune, there is scarcely one of them by which he himself has been especially afflicted : the oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely, the insolence of office and the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy take —these are almost everybody's troubles more than Hamlet's : and the pangs of despised love are no part at all of Hamlet's relation to Ophelia. Naturally, although the whole problem is seen generally and impersonally, Hamlet's own personality affects his sense of relative values. The major ill—what dreams may come when we have shuffled off this mortal coil—is only major to such as Hamlet, though even his peculiar sentiment is only a particular form of the universal dread of something after death, something unpredictable from out a limitless range of conjectural agonies. How completely Hamlet's mind is engrossed in the general philosophic problem is superbly revealed by the most familiar lines in the whole speech—

> The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns.

The phrase has dwelt familiarly on the tongues of men as one of the miracles of poetic utterance, as indeed it is. Hamlet is putting into words his sense of the after-world. He fastens on two of the aspects which belong to it in the minds and sentiments of mankind at large, namely, our complete isolation from it— " from whose bourn no traveller returns ", and our entire ignorance of its particular nature, " the undiscover'd country ". But

choosing these as the symbols by which to suggest the after-world, he gathers to the general sense a host of other appropriate associations : our intuitive feeling about the after-world is made more conscious and intelligible. The phrase is, in fact, a statement of the after-world which is true for us all. But the amazing thing is that what makes it impress all of us, its truth, is a quality which it cannot have for Hamlet. For the rest of men, the after-world is the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns : and the philosopher Hamlet is absorbed in this general truth so completely that he forgets that for him the general truth is a particular error. A traveller *has* returned to him from the after-world, a ghost, the ghost, moreover, of his dead father, to tell a tale setting his hair on end and completely changing the rest of his life. Yet, philosophising, he climbs to the world of ideas, of abstract truths ; and forgets for the moment the most outstanding experience in his own life.

This flair of Hamlet's for abstract thinking is perpetually liable to make him momentarily indifferent to the concrete world about him. Another speech spoken before his mind is doubly strained by knowledge of the murder will show us how the natural functioning of his brain works. The situation is exciting. A ghost has been seen by Hamlet's friends. They have informed Hamlet that his father's spirit in arms has twice appeared at midnight. Hamlet is agog with excitement. The three of them plan to be in wait for the ghost : they are here on the battlements at midnight. " The air bites shrewdly ", " very cold ", " a nipping and an eager air "—" it has struck twelve "—the whole atmosphere is one of strained excited nerves : suddenly, as they peer in hushed expectation, the silence is broken by the blast of cannon—a situation not likely, one would think, to soothe nerves on edge. Horatio, calmest of men normally, is rattled—" What does this mean, my lord ? " asking questions more from discomposure than from desire to know. Yet at this very moment, of all moments the most inopportune, unexpected, and inappropriate, Hamlet solemnly embarks on a regular professorial disquisition about the nature of habit and its influence on moral character : " So, oft it chances in particular men " : a typical academic text from the chair of philosophy. The discourse

which ensues is typically philosophic in form. It glances round all the related contingencies, seeking to build them into a generalisation. As tentative propositions are put forward, the philosopher's mind turns momentarily aside to put their implications in line with the general argument. The very syntax of this speech, with its interrupted and broken structure, is Hamlet's brain in action under our eyes. And again he is so enthralled in its operations that when the ghost does appear, his attention to it has to be called—" Look, my lord, it comes ".

But this abstraction is not in itself ominous. When he does see the ghost, he is fully capable of meeting the situation immediately presented, and, despite his friends' fears, follows the ghost without hesitation. So he hears the terrible story. Murder had been suspected by nobody, not even by Hamlet. Now he finds villainy blacker than he had known, villainy infecting both his mother and his uncle. He dedicates himself passionately and immediately to obey the ghost's call to revenge. Nothing, he says, will ever cause him to forget :

> Remember thee !
> Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
> In this distracted globe.

Yet the words he continues to utter arouse our misgivings : they do not seem part of a promising project for sweeping to revenge with wings as swift as meditation :

> Yea, from the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,
> That youth and observation copied there.

He is, of course, talking metaphorically ; the " table of his memory " is the memorandum-book, and whilst it is not inappropriate to symbolise memory by that figure, it is disturbing to connect the recollection of such task as Hamlet must perform with the need to jot it down against forgetfulness even in a metaphorical diary. Disturbance grows as the metaphor usurps reality. Hamlet in his excitement is driven by his imagination ; its " table ", " book and volume ", have become palpable, and subconsciously Hamlet is impelled to take out his actual notebook :

> My tables, meet it is I set them down.

The action is ominous—even if Hamlet should set down his determination to kill his uncle within a week. But more ominous is what he does set down—

That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain

—a mere truism, given, too, the conventional philosophical safeguard by qualification, " At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmark ".

It is absolutely clear, then, that Hamlet's habit of mind will in some way or another complicate his procedure. His tendency to abstraction, his proneness to let imagination stimulate and direct his intellectual voyagings beyond the reaches of the soul, his liability to set the mind awork before the body takes its appropriate complementary posture : these may recurrently obstruct a ready response in action. But in themselves they will not induce a general paralysis : and, in fact, Hamlet is normally very ready to act. As soon as he has seen the ghost, he is planning a means to kill the king—though, characteristically, his mind is apter to long-term plans than to ready improvisations. He tells his friends that he may perchance find it convenient to put an antic disposition on. Moreover, on other significant occasions his deeds are those of the quick and resolute actor rather than of the halting, undetermined hesitator. When pirates attack the vessel on which he is sailing to England, he is the first to jump aboard as they grapple. On an earlier occasion, when he sees a stirring behind the arras, he draws at once and kills Polonius : and it is no explanation to say that this was purely instinctive, for it is obvious that he has suspected eavesdropping and, presumably, has determined beforehand on the proper response. When, towards the end, he comes on Ophelia's funeral, he acts with almost a madman's precipitancy, and jumps into the grave : and though it is a frenzied display, it is not one of a man whose sinews have atrophied in general paralysis. It is, indeed, a very significant action. It has energy, deliberateness, and the application of force on circumstances in the world about him : and these qualities are what distinguish action from mere reflex activities. But its significance for the tragedy is this : it is the wrong action for the actual world in

which Hamlet must live, and proper only to the ideal world (that is, the picture of the world he has built in his own mind) in which he now lives without knowing that it is a distorted image of reality. If his ideal world were a valid intellectual projection of the real world, his action would be apt and effective. A crucial illustration of this is provided by his treatment of Ophelia.

Nothing is more difficult to reconcile with our impulse to sympathise with Hamlet than his dealings with Ophelia. However docile she may be to her father (and that has not always been regarded as a sign of weakness ; moreover, she stands up triumphantly to her preachifying brother), she cannot hide her love for Hamlet from us. She is not forthcoming in the way of the modern girl, nor even as naturally wise as Shakespeare's comic heroines. But is this a moral defect? And can anybody suppose for a moment that it justifies Hamlet's abominable treatment of her? It is not so much that he determines to break with her. It is the manner of the breaking. He talks to her, at best, as a salvationist preacher would reprove a woman of the street, and then as a roué being cynical with an associate in looseness. His remarks are disgusting and even revolting ; they offend because they are preposterously out of place, for Ophelia is in no wise deserving of such ineptitudes. But if frailty (that is, immorality) is woman's name, if Ophelia, because a woman, is therefore necessarily frail, then of course everything fits. The serious advice—" get thee to a nunnery "—is the only way to save the world ; and the smut of the wise-cracks in the play-within-the-play scene is a proper garb. But, of course, these hypotheses are pure fiction. They are real only in Hamlet's " ideal " world—and it is only in that world that his actions would be appropriate. The other real world, the one in which he must live and act and succeed or fail, is a different one ; and we have seen how Hamlet came to create his ideal world and then mistake it for a true intellectual projection of the real one.

That is, it would appear, the way of Hamlet's tragedy. His supreme gift for philosophic thought allows him to know the universe better than the little world of which he is bodily a part. But his acts must be in this physical world : and his mind has distorted for him the particular objects of his actual environment.

So he cannot act properly within it: or rather, towards those parts of it which the stress of his feeling and the heat of his imagination have made especially liable to intellectual distortion, he cannot oppose the right physical response. He can kill a Rosencrantz, but not his villainous uncle. Yet though the paralysis is localised at first, it tends to be progressive. The world of action, or the world in which outward act is alone possible, becomes increasingly different from the world as his mind conceives it. Yet the mind increasingly imposes its own picture on him as absolute. The end is despair. The will to act in the one necessary direction is first frustrated and then gradually atrophied. Worst of all, the recognition of the will's impotence is accepted as spiritual resignation; and the resignation is not seen as the moral abnegation—the *gran rifiuto*—which it certainly is; on the contrary, it is phrased as if it were the benign attainment of a higher view, whereas it is nothing more than a fatalist's surrender of personal responsibility. That is the nadir of Hamlet's fall. The temper of Hamlet's converse with Horatio in the graveyard, the placidity of his comments on disinterred bones, his reminiscent ruminations on Yorick's skull, and his assumed hilarity in tracking Alexander's progress till the loam whereto he is converted serves to stop a beer-barrel, these are traits of his final frame of mind indicating no ascent to the serenity of philosophic calm. They are only processes which reconcile him to his last stage of failure. His increasing nonchalance, he confesses to Horatio, is really part of his falling off. "Thou wouldst not think how ill all's here about my heart." And his gesture of noble defiance is no firm confession of trust in a benign Providence: it is merely the courage of despair. "We defy augury: there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come, it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all: since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes?" This is absolute abdication: if Hamlet's duty is to be done, Providence will occasion its doing, as indeed Providence does in the heat of the fencing match when chance discloses more villainy and stings Hamlet into a reflex retaliation. But Hamlet has failed. That is the tragedy.

# LETTERS FROM THE WAR FRONT IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA.[1]

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A LIBRARIAN of our day fears fire more, perhaps, than he fears any other destructive thing. In peace-time he provides his library with fire-fighting apparatus. In this time of war the precautions against fire are increased and improved. As an extra precaution the librarian may remove his treasures to a comparatively safe place above or below ground.

But in ancient Assyria and Babylonia the fires started by an enemy in the city which he attacked, were a friend of books. It will be remembered that the books of those times were made of clay. To fire them was to harden them, and so lengthen their days. A maker of books, or a keeper of books, might have given this piece of practical advice to contemporary book-lovers in ancient Mesopotamia: " If you wish to preserve your books and your libraries, set fire to them ".

Ancient Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, was attacked and destroyed in 612 B.C. Modern excavators have reported that its ruins show clear traces of the fires which raged in that last violent assault. Many persons must have perished in the flames. But books were preserved, and, with them, the abundance of literary sources from which much of our knowledge of contemporary political, religious, economic and military history is derived.

In the spring of 1850, Mr. (later Sir) A. H. Layard and Mr. H. Rassam excavated the South-west Palace in the northern mound which forms part of the extensive ruins of Nineveh (modern Quyunjiq). Layard discovered two small chambers opening into each other. Here, " to the height of a foot or more

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th of December, 1941.

from the floor ", lay a mass of inscribed clay tablets and fragments of tablets. This, it is thought, was once the library of the temple of Nabu, " the holder of the tablet ".

On 22nd December, 1853, Mr. Rassam found tablets of all shapes and sizes in a chamber on the northern half of the mound of Quyunjiq. This, it was discovered, was a part of a library of the scholarly king Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), " skilful in the art of writing of every craftsman of letters ".

From these two libraries, 27,073 tablets and fragments of tablets reached the British Museum. They include, in addition to documents which reflect all sides of business administration and traffic, books on grammar, law, geography, myth and ritual. There are also historical annals and about 1600 letters and fragments of letters, and it is these which supply the material necessary for any study of Assyrian wars and warfare. The bulk of the information set forth in this paper is drawn direct from the letters which date from *c.* 722 B.C. to 640 B.C.[1]

We may describe much of the matter contained in these letters as despatches from various sections of the " Front ", understanding by that term both the scenes of actual combat and the areas of occupation after victory. Clausewitz held that war is merely a continuation of policy by other means. The Assyrians would seem to have held that peace was merely a continuation of war by other means. Most of the letter-writers show a talent for brevity, and it is only by slow degrees that the modern reader perceives the currents which pass to and fro between the lines of the ' communiqués '. But as perception grows, and as these letters of the ancient dead come to life, thoughts such as these start up to tease the mind : " Now where have I read that sort of thing before, and recently ? ", or " Wasn't there something like that in a recent despatch from the battle front or from occupied territory ? " This is not surprising, for, although modern wars are vastly different from the wars waged by ancient Assyria, yet the passage of time has not increased the essential tools with which war is waged. They are still what

[1] The letters present many difficulties to the translator. Translations other than those given here are possible, but they would not substantially differ from the translations offered here.

they were long ago : brain, brawn and impersonal things. Then, as now, authority said " life, limb and brain must be organised for the overriding purpose ". And the material quoted in this paper will show that the brain of men-at-arms long ago was as active, as resourceful, as cunning then as now ; that the brawn of those days struck as surely and as fatally as at any time since ; and that both brain and brawn moved under the influence of a high morale and a whole-hearted devotion equal to that called forth by nobler causes of later times.

The writers of the letters quoted here are, on the one hand, the Assyrian kings : Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, and on the other hand, their subordinate officials, military and civil, scattered over the wide area covered by Assyria proper and territories subdued and, in some instances, annexed by her.

As one reads the voluminous correspondence of King Ashurbanipal, one feels " He *is* a meddlesome fellow ". But such royal meddling is of the essence of Assyrian kingship. It has been remarked that the contemporaries of Queen Victoria, in their ignorance of what Her Majesty did, assumed that she did almost nothing to influence national affairs. But the publication of her letters has shown that her active influence in matters of State was considerable. Had her contemporaries known the facts they might not have understood. But an Assyrian king, or a queen-mother, would have understood perfectly. For them, a king must rule indeed. He was no figure-head, no *signe-tout*, no puppet, but a master whose word was despatched to the uttermost frontiers of his sway, whose praise raised up and whose blame cast down, whose mind was exercised and decisive in all matters of State, religious, economic, political and military. For " kingship descended from heaven ", and was to be exercised with energy under the eye of expectant deities. The taunts with which the Assyrian Rabshakeh taunted the Hebrews at Jerusalem's walls, were the voice of the god Ashur relayed to Jerusalem.

The replies of the subordinates show that they realised their position *vis-à-vis* their commander-in-chief, the king at Nineveh. They are prompt to answer all his questions, to declare their

undying loyalty, to lay before him all the difficulties and the successes of their obedience. But our concern here is with the information which they send from their stations as to movements of enemy troops, progress of campaigns, threatened or actual revolts, the behaviour of citizens in lands overrun and occupied by Assyria.

Assyrian power over her neighbours was won by wars waged throughout more than half a millennium. They are recorded, in greater or lesser detail, in the annals of the Assyrian kings, and in the national records of Assyria's neighbours, Babylonia, Armenia and Israel. They were not wars as more civilised peoples understand war, though they have certain features not unlike the features of war as it has been waged in our time in the full gaze of a shocked world. Against often defenceless peoples, Assyria perpetrated armed, large-scale brigandage; homes were sacked, families slaughtered or enslaved; lands laid waste, time and again, for the enlarging and enriching of the Assyrian Reich. Making war her bulwark, Assyria "gored the gentle bosom of peace with pillage and robbery". "Hæc quidem gaudebat, sed tota terra gemebat." But to Assyria all means were lawful to her end, which was to possess and to hold the passes of the world.

All this is part of the memory of mankind, and has been so often described in the histories of Assyria that we need not dwell further on it here. It is less usual to attempt to say something of the Assyrian soldier, of his mettle, his temper for such "bloody hunting". This we shall attempt now, briefly.

Probably late in the second millennium B.C., some centuries before Assyria reached the zenith of her power, there was written in poetic form a description of Assyria's struggle against her southern neighbours. The document, unusual both as to its great size and as to its form, was found at Nineveh by the late Dr. Campbell Thompson during diggings there after the last war.[1] According to this document, Assyria's enemies covet Assyria and plot unceasingly to destroy her. Her soldiers are

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. 79 (1929), pp. 126-133; *Annals of Arch. and Anthrop.*, vol. 20 (1933), pp. 116-126; cf. von Soden, *Der Alte Orient*, Band 37, Heft 1/2 (1937).

eager to battle in her defence. An officer addresses the king: "My lord, from the beginning of your reign . . . battle and toil have been for us a feast. . . . Under your good rule we have become men. . . . Let us go forward. . . . He who advances lives; he who stays behind dies." The king gives the order to battle. The gods come to assist the troops. The text continues: "The soldiers look death in the eye . . . they are in full fury; they tear their tunics apart; they cut off their hair; they swing the lance; they dance in the fatal play of weapons".

As represented in this document, the spirit of these Assyrian troops, their eager delight in battle, their eagerness to meet the enemy, recall a later: "God be thanked who has matched us with this hour". They saw what the gods and the king ordered, and behold it was very good. And like the Maccabees, "Proeliabantur proelium cum laetitia".

It may be—for the tablet was long preserved at Nineveh—that this record of the past was remembered in after time. It may even be that its contents were related, recited in many a camp on the eve of battle. We may imagine a soldier in the Assyrian Army at a later time, praying that he, too, might be as one of these. We may picture a priestly warrior trying, by its means, to screw the troops up to sticking-point with this poetic account of the courage and prowess of those pioneers of Assyria's greatness, reminding them that their "blood is fet from fathers of warproof".

Service with the Assyrian forces entailed great hardships, which our sources sometimes describe. A letter[1] written to King Sargon from the Front reports that the "troops are *grumbling*". An order had been given to take the road to the city of Hirite. But the troops protest, saying: "There is no way possible . . . there is no continuous road; the terrain is difficult, it lies amidst mountains; the waters are treacherous, the river flows strongly; swimming skins and keleks are useless". The writer, for his part, reminds his lord: "The king knows that the troops are powerless against water", and announces his own intention of taking the mountain road. We do not know whether such disobedience to G.H.Q. at Nineveh was

[1] Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, 312.

or was not successful. For the sake of the official we must hope so.

On a cylinder,[1] Ashurbanipal tells of an occasion when, operating against Elam, " the troops saw Iddie, a raging torrent, and were afraid to cross ". Luckily someone had a dream in which Ishtar promised, " I will go before Ashurbanipal ". The soldiers " put their trust in that dream and crossed the river in safety ". We must assume that on the occasion reported in the letter just quoted, Ishtar or some other hesitated to disturb the sleep of grumbling armies. The difficulties of food-supplies must have been frequent. Ashurbanipal relates how in the campaigns against Arabian tribes the armies " crossed the Euphrates and the Tigris at flood, climbed high mountains, plunged through stretches of dense forests . . . crossed parched and thirsty desert, for a distance of 100 double hours from Nineveh, until they came to an oasis where the soldiers dug for water and then resumed the march across parched and waterless land, where neither bird nor animal could support itself alive ".

And a letter,[2] possibly to the same king, reports that the troops are disgruntled because there is no food for them, except the inadequate supplies which they have brought with them ; and the enemy have cut out the water supply.

As our last illustration, in this necessarily brief notice of the morale of Assyrian soldiers in face of difficulties, here is a memorable letter from the south country.[3] The troops of Ashurbanipal take up a position opposite the enemy on a bank of a river. Changing their tactics, they move up stream, seize a ford and cross it. But too late they realise that the enemy at this point greatly outnumbers them. Nevertheless, they take the offensive saying, *ḳi nimuttu ina šumi ba-ba-ni nimut*, " If we are to die, let us die with a name full-honoured ". The writer reports that thanks be to the gods, they slew many and routed the rest. And we, so long a time after, can but salute brave men who went into battle against great odds with such a cry on their lips.

The evidence suggests that Assyria had the arms and she had the men ; men with an innate fighting quality and power of

[1] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, vol. II, § 823. [2] H[arper, *l.c.*], 774. [3] H. 520.

endurance, backed by a deep consciousness that the gods were with them.

Troops such as these waged war and held down populations far from Nineveh, sometimes hundreds of miles away, in the extreme south of Babylonia, the far western hill country, in Palestine and in Egypt. But wherever they were, whether in active warfare or in occupation, they were in contact with Nineveh, and Nineveh with them. This contact was maintained by written despatches sent to the king, or from the king, either directly by a runner, or indirectly by relay from one official to another along the line. The large number of reports or despatches which have been preserved is an evidence of the efficiency of this department of the war administration. The discovery at Nineveh of letters of the king to personnel far away suggests that copies of the king's letters were kept in the royal archives.

From G.H.Q. at Nineveh go out orders such as this: "Invade the territory of the Mannai", only to be met with the reply from the subordinate on the spot: "Not all the troops went in".[1] From the field come requests to Nineveh for troops: "Why", Ashurbanipal is asked, "why is it that I have twice sent to the lord of kings my lord for 300 horses, but the lord of kings my lord has not sent them to me? . . . He has not replied".[2] But to another official Ashurbanipal asks for an explanation of repeated requests for troops, seeing that "I have sent you troops".[3]

Advice concerning measures to be taken against an enemy was sometimes sent in from the field. Thus, a man on the spot advises King Esarhaddon: "Let chariots and waggons be stationed on either side of the pass . . . and let them march in to plunder the Mannai plains. . . . Erect a fort there against the enemy; let the entire army make an attack."[4]

The need of reinforcements to retake lost territory is stressed in the following letter: "Whilst I was in the land of the enemy, the Pukudu by assault made an end of Bit-Amukani who are servants of the king my lord; cities which were for garrisons of

[1] H. 1237. [2] H. 462. [3] H. 774. [4] H. 1237.

the king my lord they have captured; they forced the soldiers of the king my lord to withdraw; they attacked the cities, killed troops and violated women, and assaulted the guard Zabaia. . . . The Bit-Amukani are exterminated, and the Pukudu have settled in their land. Troops have not come out with us. . . . Let the king my lord say the word and soldiers will surely go forth against the city wherein they have settled." [1]

The letters sent to the king contain much information concerning Assyria's enemies. A great deal of this information was got by the Assyrian intelligence service. Ashurbanipal laid down the principle which should govern the conduct of all his loyal subjects, whether within Assyria proper or stationed abroad. It is formulated in one of his letters [2] in these words: "The man who loves his master's house promptly informs his lord of what he sees and hears". And the king's representatives acted on that principle. One assures the king: "News and talk which I shall hear . . . I shall send to the king my lord".[3] Another writes: "I shall send continuous reports to the king my lord".[4]

From the instructions which the king gives in his letters, it is clear that he did not wish his loyal servants merely to sit and await the coming of information; they were to take active steps to obtain it. One letter [5] reads: "With reference to what the king wrote saying: 'Send out spies', I have sent them out twice; some came back and made reports detailed in the letter to the effect that five enemy lieutenants have entered Uesi in Armenia, together with commanders of camel-corps; they are bringing up their forces which are of some strength." Another reports to the king: "For news of Armenia I sent out scouts; they made a reconnaisance and reported: 'the governor of our opponents, together with his second-governor is in Harda. . . . City to city, all the way to Turushpa stretch in an unbroken line'." [6]

Assyrian officials, curious about the enemy's movements, obtain information from any who have knowledge of the enemy or his country, as, for example, traders who pass to and fro across the frontiers of peoples at war, as in the following

[1] H. 275. [2] H. 288, 402. [3] H. 521.
[4] H. 282. [5] H. 444. [6] H. 424.

letter: "On the 13th of the month Tammuz, a caravan of the city of Lahiru, passed this way. The sons of Mr. I. and Mr. S. were bringing wool from Bit-Imbia. They say: 'The palace steward and the troops of Upper Elam are all at this moment in Bit-Imbia. On the river Abani they have forced a crossing.' I send this news to the minister of my lord; may he report it in the palace. Let the army take up stations over against them at Der."[1]

Intelligence is sometimes volunteered by neighbours. Three prominent men of the Kummai, says one letter writer, "have come to me, and standing before the guard they said: Let your messenger bring us to court. We intend to give our information about the enemy's country to the king . . . we shall not declare it to you, nor to the guard. Conduct us to court."[2]

Deserters from the enemy's camp were an excellent source of information which the Assyrians were quick to tap. King Esarhaddon writes:[3] "When a fugitive from the Mannai, the Medes or the Hubuskians escapes, you shall put him speedily in charge of a messenger, and send him to the crown prince. If there is a statement in his mouth, advise him thus: 'You will speak with the crown prince in friendship, and tell him the news from your side'." To which the addressee replies: "Two fugitives from the Mannai have escaped: the one is an officer, the other is a 'bearded one'; there is a statement in their mouths. I am sending them on to the crown prince." One writer sends to the king prisoners who have news from Elam of a revolt in that country, and of the relative strength and distribution of the troops of the opposing sides.[4]

There are indications that difference of language presented some difficulty when prisoners and deserters were to be questioned. This would be the case especially in the hill country of Armenia (Haldia) where the inhabitants, a perpetual menace to the Assyrians, were not Semites, and their language was quite unlike that of the Assyrian court and army. But Assyria had men for the job. Thus Sargon is told: "The king my lord knows that Ishtar-Babilia is a master of language (*bel lishani*). I have sent him from the city of Tikrish (on the border of the Mannai, east

[1] H. 781. [2] H. 206. [3] H. 434. [4] H. 280.

of Nineveh); he formed this opinion and reported it to us."[1] And King Esarhaddon, in a letter to his men on the borders of the Mannai, directs that when a fugitive from the Mannai has a tale to tell, a scribe of the Mannai shall stand by "to write it down from his lips".[2]

The piecing together of many letters from the same area indicates that the Assyrian agents showed a vigilance of observation of the highest military value. From one area—the Armenian Front—beyond which lay the power which most nearly threatened the success of King Sargon, we are able to follow, by means of letters, the movements of the enemy's king, about which Sargon was very anxious. He had written asking for news of his movements and his present address. To which, in a series of letters,[3] the responsible authority on the spot replies, in the first letter: "The king of Armenia has set out for Turushpa". In the next: "The king of Armenia is in Turushpa"; in the next: "The king of Armenia has left Turushpa"; and finally: "The king of Armenia has suffered defeat at the hands of the Cimmerians".

The news of the disaster was of such importance that the crown prince, in a letter[4] to his father, substantiated the fact with evidence from three different sources: "May the king be of good heart. The Ukkai have sent me word: 'the king of Armenia went to the country of the Cimmerians, and his forces perished utterly'. That is the report of the Ukkai. Ashur-riṣua has sent me word: 'the news concerning Armenia which I sent on a previous occasion is true; there was great carnage amongst them. . . . Qaqqadanu, the commander in chief was taken captive. The king of Armenia is in the land of Uazaun.' That is the report of Ašur-riṣua. Nabu-li'u, the governor of Halṣu, has sent me word: 'when I sent to the garrisons of the fortresses on the border for news of the king of Armenia (I was told): "when they came to the land of the Cimmerians, his army was wiped out. Three chiefs along with their forces, were killed; he himself got away and entered his own country; to-date his camp has not yet arrived".' That is the report of Nabu-li'u. . . . All the garrisons of the fortresses on the frontier

[1] H. 342.
[2] H. 434.
[3] H. 492, 381, 444.
[4] H. 197.

are sending the like news." This news, so amply confirmed, must have been very welcome to Sargon of Assyria, but the removal of one enemy left the field to another. It seems probable that it was when fighting against these, the Cimmerians, that Sargon met his death in 705 B.C.

But the other side also played the same game of espionage. A messenger reports [1] that certain persons had gone to someone *non persona grata* to the Assyrians, and both sides swore on the name of the deity: "By the terms of our oath, we shall send to you all the news we hear". But the agreement was sealed by something more material than an oath to the deity, for the messenger reports that "As a pledge thereof they bring oxen and ask him to allow their sheep to pasture" in a meadow which they specify. The writer urges the King Ashurbanipal to send a messenger to the opprobrious person threatening him: "If you shall send anything into Elam for a price, and if one sheep goes to the Elamite meadow, I shall not let you live". On another occasion the King Sargon of Assyria is informed [2] that the king of Armenia rewards deserters to his side with fields and plantations and orchards. And the Assyrian intelligence department has information that the Armenian king is advising neighbours not to make a treaty with Assyria.

As one studies the letters which passed between the Assyrian kings and their subordinates, the impression grows that Assyria strove by deliberate planning and organisation to counter any spontaneous and independent forces which might seek to restrain her. The watchful activity of her agents on enemy borders—Elam, Media, Armenia—whence might develop an attack on the territories which Assyria had overrun, was but one item in that organisation for defence. Deportation of native populations was another; she sought by these deportations to reduce the number of such independent forces. And by establishing subordinate officers in areas she chose not to devastate or depopulate, she made each city state, each district "occupied territory", in which her soldiery, whether Assyrian or native pressed into her service, constituted an army of occupation.

But the situation, as might be imagined, and as the records



[1] H. 282. [2] H. 252.

show, was always precarious. The system established by the sword, and kept in being by local administrations—puppet governments—stiffened by Assyrian violence or the threat of it, was always, especially in the outlying areas, in great danger of disintegration.

The natives in the occupied or annexed countries showed spirit. We can hardly call them a V army, nor can we point to a contemporary Colonel Britton. But they did some of the things against the enemy which the V army of our time is urged to do. For example, an Assyrian underling, in a letter to the king of Assyria, Ashurbanipal, writes :[1] " The king our Lord knows that all the people of the land hate us, for they say : You send the king news of the country which you hear ". More than that ; they were in communication with the enemy of the great Assyrian Reich. Thus, King Ashurbanipal is told in a letter.[2] Certain persons who have on several occasions been admitted to the king's presence, and have been put in charge of work of national importance, are, according to the writer of the letter, what we might call Fifth Columnists, for, the writer says : " These persons are no lovers of the house of my lord. It is not good to admit them. With news of the country of the king my Lord they open the ears of Elam, and if there were a famine in Elam, they would see that it had food." And here is a sentence which has a modern ring. Certain Pukudeans " do not want the prosperity of the land at the disposal of the king my Lord (Ashurbanipal). They seek revenge . . . they are unwilling to co-operate." [3] Even a ruler of Babylon refused to co-operate. Of him it is said : " The king of Babylon does not perform the work. Whoever revolts he promotes." [4]

This was a dangerous attitude to take up against Assyria, for Assyrian reprisals were ruthless. Recall Ashurbanipal's reprisals on rebels against his authority in Babylonia : " As for those men ", he writes, " and their vulgar mouths, who plotted evil against me, I slit their mouths and brought them low. The rest of the people alive . . . I cut down . . . their dismembered bodies I fed to the dogs, swine, wolves and eagles, to the birds of the heavens and the fish of the deep. After I had accomplished this work, had

[1] H. 736. [2] H. 277. [3] H. 774. [4] H. 1263.

quieted the hearts of the great gods, my lords, the corpses of the people whom the plague (-god) had brought low, and of those who had lost their lives through hunger and want, what was left of the feast of the dogs and swine of their members which blocked the streets and filled the squares, I ordered them to remove from Babylon, Kutha and Sippar, and to cast them on heaps." [1]

Attempts were made by propaganda to bring about revolt against Assyria—or at least disaffection. Such anti-Assyrian propaganda within territory held by her, is mentioned in letters to the court. Natives, according to one writer,[2] were being told " as long as you live Assyria will never love you " ; they are advised to transfer their allegiance elsewhere. A foreigner declares " the king of Assyria shall not rule over you . . . you are my people ".[3] And King Ashurbanipal, in a long letter,[4] defends himself and warns the Babylonians against propaganda which has had some success amongst them, thus : " I have heard all the windy words which this no-brother of mine has spoken to you. They are wind. Trust him not. I swear by Ashur and by Marduk my gods, that I shall keep in my heart all the evil words which he has spoken against me, and that which I by my mouth have declared : he is plotting further deceit when he states : ' I will put to shame the name of the Babylonians who love both him and me '. . . . Near to my heart are you. Do not listen for a moment to his lies. Do not foul your reputation which is established before my eyes and before all countries, nor commit sin before God." But royal appeals were not always effective. Just lies put out by the king's official, said some. And the Assyrian king in the eyes of neighbours meant the Assyrian armed forces, a terror to all the peoples. A letter [5] seems to imply that Assyria's ill-repute was used in Elam by turbulent elements who, " in advance of the troops of the king my lord, like a plague have brought in terror, with intent to do the greatest possible destruction ". This reminds us of the panic amongst the populations of Belgium and France in 1940 when it was rumoured that " the Germans are coming ".

This last letter was sent to Ashurbanipal. The conduct of

[1] Luckenbill, *l.c.*, § 795. [2] H. 1204. [3] H. 1114.
[4] H. 301. [5] H. 460.

this king in Elam, where the mere mention of his name caused panic, is on record. He has recorded it himself:[1] "I mustered my armies and marched straight against Ummanaldasi, king of Elam. . . . The people who did not come forth and greet my majesty I slew. Their heads I cut off. I pierced the lips (of others) and took them to Assyria as a spectacle for the people of my land. . . . The son-in-law of the king of Elam I took alive . . . bound him hand and foot with fetters of iron and brought him to Assyria. . . . Fourteen of the royal cities, together with countless small cities, and twelve districts of Elam, the whole of it, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. . . . In a month of days, I ravaged Elam to its furthest border. The noise of people, the tread of cattle and sheep, the glad shouts of rejoicing, I banished from its fields." Such conduct would provide any panic-monger with an armament of tales which would demoralise the defenders and reduce the defences of any district and throw the gates wide open to the rebel forces.

To return to occupied territory: even in the matter of local cult, order could not be guaranteed. A letter[2] informs King Esarhaddon that the writer has had a demand for "an account of the oxen and sheep due to the god Nabu", and an order to requisition rams from the houses of the citizens of Borsippa "for the regular offerings as of old". But "they have not brought in the fat rams for Nabu; the shepherds have made gifts to the chief magistrate of Borsippa" (the same person who had demanded them of him!). "Up to now they have not accounted for the bulls and the sheep, but the rams for the regular offerings have been requisitioned. During the month of Nisan, not one first class ox was slaughtered, and the royal sacrifices were not performed. The eyes of the herdsmen see the bulls, the offering of a devotee, turn them back from the gate, thus diverting them from the table of Nabu. Concerning one ox of the first class, the sacrifice of a worshipper, which was made ready before the goddess Nana, I have heard this: It had no right kidney. All the citizens of Borsippa protest saying: The oxen and sheep of Nabu cover the face of the land. Why then have the shepherds scattered them? I have heard that: among the great ones there

[1] Luckenbill, *l.c.*, §§ 799-811. [2] H. 1202.

is one with whom the shepherds are co-operating." Call this black market, or sabotage on the religious front, as you will. There is no doubt that this letter discloses an organised racket which by cutting off the supplies destined for the gods, would compromise the position of the ruling power, Assyria, in the eyes of the local deities. A thing intolerable. But we have no information of the steps which Assyria took against the racketeers.

Assyrian native man-power was not of itself adequate to all the tasks which the wide expansion of Assyrian power imposed on her rulers and her troops. Hence the need to conscript foreigners into the armed forces of the master State. In the army of Sargon were men of Samaria, of Hamath, and of Carchemish ; in that of Sennacherib were Philistines, Elamites, and men of Bit-Yakin in southern Babylonia ; in that of Ashur-banipal were Elamites and Akkadians. This last king relates [1] how, after he had slaughtered the people of Akku (Acre), and hung their corpses on stakes all round the city, he carried away those who were left, and added them to the many troops which the god Ashur had given him.

But from a damaged and incomplete letter [2] we learn that attempts by Assyria to persuade other districts to supply men for the Assyrian army were not always successful. The writer states : " I have sent one of their officials to them to say : ' Come ! . . . let me give you weapons '. They neither listened nor came ; they mistrusted their official. . . . I sent the major-domo to them saying : ' Come, let me talk matters over with you '. But they went away and fled. Not one of them would come near me. I had already said in the presence of the king my lord in Nineveh : ' In vain ; they will not listen ; they will not supply soldiers '. And the king : ' Take two or three of their cities. . . . I put them in your command '. And I : ' I shall go ; I shall speak with them, and if they do not listen to me I shall write to the king my lord '. Let the king my lord send a guardsman to them to say : ' If you do not . . . your soldiers to-morrow or the day after to my officials . . .'." Unfortunately the damaged condition of the tablet deprives us of the sanctions mentioned in this ultimatum.



[1] Luckenbill, *l.c.*, § 830.

[2] H. 610.

Napoleon had a notion that he could "make commerce manœuvre like a regiment" to serve his will. It cannot, of course, be pretended that any king of Assyria had the same notion as that of Napoleon, or anything like the ability or the favourable conditions for carrying it out. But the letters from the days of the Assyrian expansion do suggest something parallel to what the Corsican, or better, the German of to-day, have proposed in the field of economics.

There is evidence enough to suggest that Assyria had a plan for that part of the ancient Near East which was within reach of her armies. According to that plan, Assyria should be the centre around which the other lands should form a ring of satellites. A State, defeated in battle, or demoralised and disarmed by fear of Assyrian might, was allowed to survive on condition that it helped to supply the economic wants of Assyria to the degree fixed by Assyria and guaranteed by the sworn statement: "We are the servants of Assyria". The law ruling this—we may call it, with some reservations, this planned economy—was the will, the appetite of the Great State, which planned to unite the world around her on a basis of tribute, of partial servitude. Perhaps we ought not to call this plan mere robbery, for although Assyria seems to have given nothing economic in return, she guaranteed to protect her vassals against enemies. She took them under her protection!

There are many references in the letters of the period to the collection and transport of 'tribute'. It is interesting that the very word 'tribute' had sinister connotations. Esarhaddon takes up the point in a letter [1] to the peoples of the south country: "I know", he writes, "that you are saying: 'Behold, because we rebelled against him, our tribute has been increased'. But it was not 'tribute'; that name (for it) implies too much."

Advance letters are sent to court, informing the king of the coming of goods; of chiefs bringing seven stalls of mules with their tribute; of large and small numbers of horses; of quantities of timber; and of various kinds of live stock and of luxury goods. The king occasionally asked for more than the district could supply: e.g. in one letter [2] to the king we read: "the

[1] H. 403. [2] H. 241.

king asks for horses, oxen, lambs " ; to which it is replied " oxen in this land are very few ".

On another occasion the difficulty is not any shortage of the thing levied, but a superabundance, e.g. : " The king my lord knows that the levies in kind for the month of Tebet are delayed for lack of storage room in which to store the wines of the king my lord. . . . The wine of the king my lord is plentiful. Where shall we store it ? " [1]

We sometimes read to-day that, e.g. German technicians are sent to occupied territory to speed up deliveries of needed material to Germany. Here, from a letter,[2] is something similar : The King Sargon had given orders that the delivery of wool and fruit be expedited. But the merchants say : We tried to collect seven talents (worth of wool), but the (native) people were unwilling (they allege) : " Our supplies are not very great ". The merchants, therefore, recommend that weaver women of the king be sent. If the tribute is not forthcoming, the defaulter receives a reminder from the king : " Come with your tribute ".[3] But, as we know from the Assyrian Annals, it often happened that the tribute was deliberately held back. Such refusal of what had been promised on oath must have made the Assyrian realise that it is one thing to overcome people by force ; it is quite another to compel them to go on living under conditions imposed on them. But refusal brought retribution, sometimes very fearful retribution ; an indication that Assyria depended greatly on the regular supply of the goods from her vassals from abroad.

We have already noticed that collaboration with Assyria was not always, and under all its aspects, popular with the native populations under Assyrian domination. But, as far as we can judge from the letters, the local Gauleiters whom Assyria had set up to serve her interests, tried hard to do their job. They sent constant reassurances to the Assyrian court of their loyalty and undying devotion. And they affected great gratitude if their services were rewarded. An outstanding example of such sentiments is the following comparatively long letter [4] to King Ashurbanipal by the Gauleiter of Babylonia : " As to what the

[1] H. 86. [2] H. 196. [3] H. 242. [4] H. 352.

king the lord of kings my lord wrote me, 'Now be of good heart: the desire of your heart shall not be withheld in the future' . . . these words are pleasing in the sight of god and man. . . . I had become a beggar. As the father behaves towards his children, so has the king acted towards his servants. From the time when men existed, what king is there who has shown graciousness such as this to his servants, and what benefactor has made such return as this to his beneficiary? May the great gods of heaven and earth do like graciousness to the children of the king my lord so long as heaven and earth shall endure. On hearing this good word and seeing this gracious deed which the king my lord had done, I took heart and came to life. . . . During the long life of the king my lord, and when the king my lord shall be old, according as I have been true to the king may I die as fate ordains, and may the king my lord raise my funeral pile. On a mountain may it be set, and may they set it up for me personally. . . . In respect of what the king wrote to me: 'You, your brothers' sons and the sons of your father's brothers, you shall stand before me', in like manner may Ashur with his family, Bel and Nabu with their families, the great gods of heaven and earth with their families, gather together and grant a place in their presence to the son, the offspring, the descendants, the posterity, the progeny of the king my lord."

But it was not always thus. The writer of the above letter is sternly rebuked by the same king[1] for acting without orders, and thereby setting a bad example to others: "You who are my companion and have experience of majesty, you have so done. How will he do who lacks (that) experience?" Indeed, the lot of those who were appointed to carry out the wishes of their Assyrian overlord cannot have been an easy one. The greater their services to Assyria, the greater their guilt before the native population. The slightest sign of disloyalty, inefficiency, or of any sort of suspicious conduct, was observed and reported to court, and had to be accounted for. These officials must have dreaded the arrival of messengers of the king. A servant of the king relates[2] that a prefect of a neighbouring town came to him one day. "I asked him", he says, "why have you come here?"

[1] H. 291. [2] H. 88.

And the visitor replied: "There came a message from the king saying: 'All the city lords came and stood before me; why did not you come? why was it that only you failed to come? And why did the Uppai effect the plunder of Sippar? And why did you call out your men and remove them?' I was overcome at this message. I will go."

The letter just quoted contains a reference to the duty of officials abroad to report to the king at Nineveh. This duty of making *ad limina* visits was strictly enforced. It symbolised servitude, and it promised perseverance therein. Any failure to carry out this duty had to be explained. Here is one such letter[1] of explanation from Babylonia. The absentee writes: "The first reason is that people who came from Elam to the king, in order to achieve their own purposes, slandered me at court; both the ordinary person and an enemy who comes from Elam have made evil reports about me and sent them to court. I heard and was afraid, and did not go although I was eager to serve the king." It would not be surprising if the fickleness of the Assyrian monarch whose ear was open to every tale which circulated concerning his servants, at last aroused in the servant hatred of his master and of his own servitude; a hatred which, when occasion offered, was finally converted into the positive action of revolt. In many instances a rebel could rely on the support of the inhabitants pressed down under the weight of the burden of tribute.

A last letter.[2] The folk in the southern sea-lands around the Persian Gulf write to inform the Assyrian king that they have had a visit from the messenger of the brother of the king of Elam, bearing a demand that they welcome forthwith amongst them a certain Nabu-ushallim who, as we know, planned to take over control of that country. The Sealanders refuse, saying, "We are servants of the king of Assyria" (Ashurbanipal). They will not receive the outsider without the authority of their lord at Nineveh. But Nabu-ushallim is not to be put off. He has confederates in the district, and sends messengers to say in his name: "If you do not come to me and parley with me, I shall come to your land and tear down your houses. But you will say

[1] H. 283. [2] H. 576.

'We are afraid of the king of Assyria'. For my part, the fear of the king of Assyria has departed." Clearly the Sealanders preferred the devil they knew to the devil whom they did not know. They served Assyria in fear. So it was wherever Assyrian power extended. Assyria spread a fear of living. A sense of insecurity permeated society everywhere, whether among the loyal who feared her reprisals if they failed her, or amongst the courageous who feared her cruel vengeance if they defended themselves and were defeated.

Nabu-ushallim is reported to have said: "For my part, the fear of Assyria has departed". This may have been mere bravado fitted to the occasion, to impress a waverer. It was not a sentiment which any of the small powers amongst Assyria's neighbours could say with great effect at any time during the five hundred years from the year 1100 B.C. Many must have realised that the fear of Assyria would not depart from amongst men until armies comparable to her own had carried war into Assyria proper, right up to her gates and into the centre of her strong capital fortress, Nineveh. Only thus could war against her be won. But that day must have seemed long in coming to many a generation of her neighbours. It came at last in 612 B.C. It is a pity that letters have not survived describing the Fall of Nineveh. We must be content with the thought that the fires which consumed her in her hour of weakness have preserved the memory of what she was in her hour of strength.

# THE COLLAPSE OF FRANCE IN 1419-20.[1]

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THE history of France is full of magnificent pages on which the triumphs of her genius are written in fire for the wonderment and profit of all: but the shining periods, as well as the years of discipline and labour that produced them, are interspersed with days of dissension and disillusionment, when national devotion has left only exhaustion and the sense of anti-climax, and France has been pervaded with the *accidia* or tedium which medieval theologians thought to be a condition endangering the soul. It is as though the intensity of her effort had impaired for the time a nervous system capable of supreme response and superb energy.

Yet this is the rhythm of a people intent on high moments, strivers after glory, to whom politics are a constant essay in transformation, and it cannot be understood without reference to that people's history. Of the perils of such a temperament, both in the life of the individual as well of the nation, French minds have themselves been fully aware. 'Toute la gloire, que je prétens de ma vie, c'est de l'avoir vescue tranquille: tranquille, non selon Metrodorus, ou Arcesilas, ou Aristippus, mais selon moy.' . . . 'Il faut aller à la guerre pour son debvoir et en attendre cette recompense, qui ne peut faillir à toutes belles actions pour occultes qu'elles soyent, non pas mesmes aux vertueuses pensées: c'est le contentement qu'une conscience bien reglée reçoit en soy, de bien faire. Il faut estre vaillant pour soy-mesmes, et pour l'avantage que c'est d'avoir son courage logé en une assiette ferme et asseuré, contre les assauts de la fortune.' So Montaigne, in one of his maturest essays (*De la gloire*), as he

[1] Amplification of a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th of February, 1942.

thought of the dangers of ambition, and it is well to keep in mind, when regarding a picture of treachery and confusion, the examples of steadfast and measured lives and of faith in the elemental virtues that France has also provided as richly as any nation in Europe.

On 21st May, 1420, the Treaty of Troyes between England and France was issued.[1] In it Charles VI and his queen disowned and disinherited their son, 'so-called the Dauphin', in favour of Henry V and his heirs. The English king was recognised as having full right to the throne of France. During Charles' lifetime he was not to be styled king, only heir to France; but owing to Charles' weak health he was to have the effective government of France, aided by a council of nobles loyal to Charles; he was to control the governmental appointments (to see that 'suitable persons' were appointed), and he undertook to maintain the *parlement* of Paris and to preserve the laws and customs of the country. He was to retain and administer in full sovereignty Normandy and the other places conquered by him in the campaigns of the last three years. On Charles VI's death these and the territories now obeying, and administered by, the French king, were to pass into his hands, and, with the assent of the three estates of both kingdoms, to form part of the new dual monarchy of France and England, united under the same person, Henry V, and his successors on the English throne.

In this way the problem of Anglo-French relations, the long dispute that had separated the two countries and caused rivers of blood to flow, was to receive its final settlement. The Treaty gave Henry a free hand in making war upon, and conquering, other places and persons that still resisted—the country south of the Loire adhering to the Dauphin. In several clauses, future action against contravening and dissentient elements was taken for granted; these ecclesiastics and Universities that acknowledged Henry were to be maintained in their benefices or their rights; the negative implication is obvious, and is borne out by all surviving records; there was to be general disherison and ejection of the loyal French. A great humiliation had been

[1] *Fœdera* (Hague ed., 1740), iv, 2, 164-166.

inflicted; even more was to follow. In the 1359 peace negotiations the Estates-General of France had declared about a projected peace which awarded large territories below the Loire to England but still left much to the French monarchy: that they would prefer to 'endure and continue to endure the great confusion in which they lived than that the kingdom should be thus weakened and defrauded';[1] and they proceeded to reject the conditions King John had accepted. In 1420 the Three Estates, 'believing and reporting the said Peace to be praiseworthy, necessary and useful to both kingdoms and their subjects and also to the whole of christendom . . . approve, praise, accept and authorise the Peace . . . fully and faithfully for themselves and their successors'.[2]

These facts may be familiar; yet at a time like the present they inevitably raise the question: how did this astonishing thing happen? How had the life-force of France so failed that it had come, at least in a formal document, not merely to collaboration, but actually to fusion with the enemy? Who were the quislings that had betrayed their country? Were there none in the nobility and knighthood of France who could regard the struggle in its wider aspect as the issue determining for generations the place of their country in Christendom? In framing such questions, it is well to remember that, despite the misery caused by armies, the long struggle of England and France lacked the 'total' character of modern warfare, and, apart from certain critical battles, had become at times more a school of arms than a national conflict; that the English nobility mainly spoke, and certainly wrote, in French; and that the Norman and Angevin past had been forgotten by neither side. The two courts had hardly extricated themselves from the traditions of that high-born Anglo-French civilisation in which men like Bertrand de Born and Richard Cœur de Lion moved with ease and effect, and a king like Henry III was prompted, in the words of Matthew Paris, 'impudently to transgress the bounds of royal magnificence'.

The citizen of Paris, whom historians have sought to identify

[1] Froissart, *Œuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, vi, 186.

[2] *Fœdera*, iv, 2, 193.

with Jean Chuffart, canon of Notre-Dame, was clear in his own mind about the answer. The whole trouble came from the Armagnac party. 'I dare say that the King of England would never have been so bold as to set foot in France, but for the dissension which came from that unhappy name; and all Normandy would still have been French, nor would the noble blood of France have been thus spilled, nor the lords of that kingdom thus exiled, nor the battle lost, nor so many good folk have been involved in that pitiful day of Agincourt, when the King lost so many of his good and loyal friends—but for the pride of that unfortunate name, Armagnac.'[1] The canon stated but one side of a story that all have regarded as substantially true: that a man of extraordinary ability, determination and luck had successfully used the dissensions in the heart of the French monarchy to establish the claim of Edward III in 1337, and in so doing to recover the title to lands even wider than the Angevin monarchy of Henry II had governed. Yet to one looking more closely at these events, so general an answer will scarcely be found satisfying. Even if that internecine enmity had let Henry V into France, was it the sole cause of that ignominious collapse? And if not, where does the responsibility lie?

Thirty years later, when most of these troubles were over, and the English garrisons had gone, an aged councillor and member of the *parlement*, who had loyally followed Charles VII throughout his life, presented to his king a remarkable memorial or series of *remonstrances* on the government of France, illustrating his remarks by his own observations over many years.[2] In the registers of the *parlement* the name of Jean Juvénal des Ursins occurs very frequently; and this was the man, known to us as the historian of his time, who now was Bishop of Beauvais and most trusted of Charles' old friends. His respectful but incisive criticisms of Charles' régime are of special interest, as they touch upon problems of long standing in French history: they are in the form of recommendations preceded by biblical

[1] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ed. A. Tuetey (Soc. Hist. France), p. 134.

[2] I am much indebted to Dr. D. Kirkland for her transcript of the *remonstrances au roy pour le reformation du royaume*, forming vol. ii of her dissertation (Univ. Liverpool Library) under this title from Bibl. Nat., MS. fr. 2701, fos. 86–116.

or classical texts. His observations on military matters are of special interest;[1] under the third and fourth of these headings, Juvénal deals with the personnel of the army and the finances of war. Both the prince and his captains must be *vaillants. Vaillance de courage* is not *hardiesse;* it implies discretion, knowledge of the time, method and manner in which to undertake operations (*de connaître le fait de la guerre*) both in attack and defence; it is more than courage, or rather it is courage and determination used at the right season. Without being too senior, the captains (generals, we should call them) must be men of reason and mature counsel, for an error made in battle can scarcely be put right (as Valerius Maximus says, *inemendabilis enim est error qui violentia Martis committitur*). *L'aage n'a point baillé l'art de guerre mais l'exercite.*[2] And if there is wisdom and experience, there must also be confidence. Numbers are not everything. A large mass of country folk, not trained in arms, can easily be routed and slain. But this, he quickly adds, does not mean that he would rule out the common people; for, to quote his words, 'I, being Bishop of Beauvais where I have been on a strongly defended frontier, have seen and known charming companions, experienced in feats of arms, who were both *vaillans et hardis*, valiant and bold, sprung from the stock of labourers and artisans, men who bore themselves as valiantly as the others; and sometimes, in various situations in war, they are even more useful, since they know better how to endure pain and live under primitive conditions (*grossement vivre*). For as Vegetius has remarked, they can bear the sun, and do not seek the shade, know nothing of baths and luxuries, have simple minds, and are content with little. Valerius also advises taking into the army smiths, iron workers, carpenters, butchers: in other words, our knights must be reinforced by tradesmen and mechanics. On the knights Jean Juvénal has much to say: but the gist is, that they must be men of energy and hard work, not *oisivité*. No gentleman is of such high birth that, if he is

[1] Like the contemporary Canon of Salisbury, Nicholas Upton, Jean Juvénal makes plentiful use of Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, a favourite military text-book of the age, and of Valerius Maximus.

[2] Fo. 93: Kirkland, *op. cit.*, ii, 324.

slack, a good varlet should not be preferred to him.[1] Our thoughts go to the 25th of October, 1415, when the yeomen and rustics of England after a shattering march, their feet and bodies wet and cold, but their arms free and their tunics light, shot down the heavy chivalry of France as it staggered in the mud of Agincourt : Shakespeare echoed the spirit of Jean Juvénal :

> For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
> Shall be my brother ; be he ne'er so vile,
> This day shall gentle his condition.

And these fine knights, when war is finished, should not disdain to make their own harness, shoe their own horse, build their own houses, and do their own carpentering and cobbling. Instead of being maintained in idleness or roaming about as a menace to the countryside, they should be settled as farmers on the land and engage in manual work just like the agricultural labourer or the artisan.[2]

Juvénal's second point concerns financial administration to meet the charges of war. The King should draw much more fully upon his demesne, which is far greater than it has ever been before, for he has the chief peerages (*pariages*), Normandy, Guienne, Toulouse and Champagne, in his hands.[3] The revenues of these should be used for the expenses of his household and the balance should be spent on war, ' discharging your people who can do no more ', and if they must pay, then the three estates must be consulted, as the Capets used to consult them ; for even granted that the King has power to levy imposts, consultation is a sign that France is the land of free men, and not of the serfs that are there at present. But Juvénal's severest criticisms are of the personnel and methods of the King's officials and of the lawyers and judges of the *parlement ;* they show the intelligent Frenchmen's deep suspicion of the honesty of the administration, particularly where the key office of the *requêtes* was concerned : the bureau whose special business it was to deal with petitions involving legal action.[4] Here, as had been the case in England with Household and Exchequer at times

[1] Fo. 93 v. : Kirkland, ii, 234.
[2] Fo. 96 v : Kirkland, ii, 365 f.
[3] Fo. 97 : Kirkland, ii, 374-375.
[4] Fo. 105 : Kirkland, *op. cit.*, ii, 471 f.

during the fourteenth century, the King's private or household office of *requêtes* had come to supersede the *requêtes* of the *Palais*, and Juvénal urged the re-establishment of the public office in the interests of integrity and better satisfaction of petitioners.

These administrative points, because they are fundamental, recall the situation in the France that Henry V had decided to challenge. First, the royal domain. The appanage policy of Philip the Fair, carried out to the full by King John of France, had results of an important nature in a country that constantly needed to maintain its military strength and its finances. The most questionable of the appanages was the territories possessed, in King Charles V's reign, by John, Duke of Berry, the nobleman who loved hounds and miniatures, and typified much that Christine de Pisan and Juvénal himself suspected. Berry and the Auvergne lay in the centre and western centre of France, and it was not until these lands reverted to the Crown at Duke John's death in 1416 that, as Dr. Wylie once remarked, a turning-point was reached for France, involving the germ of her regeneration. Of Burgundy, whether held by the elder or the cadet line, John the Fearless or Anthony of Brabant, there was no hope of return. The other great thief in the heart of France was the rich appanage of the Duke of Orléans, which included the counties of Valois, Beaumont-sur-Oise and Touraine, Perigord, Angoulême, and, some years after the murder of Duke Louis in 1407, the counties of Blois and Dunois, purchased with Visconti money. Yet the real strength of the French monarchy lay in Normandy and the valley of the Seine as far as Paris ; in Brie and the western part of Champagne. This was what the strategic sense of Henry V grasped. It was not only that the English king claimed Normandy as his own duchy, his right to which was older and more established than to the French crown. Its great river, its routes guarded by securely placed fortresses, made it the key to Paris, the home of the University and of the *parlement*, the centre of the royal administration. The recovery of Normandy was then the first and most obvious step towards the subjugation of the French monarchy ; the second step was to close the waterways and roads to the capital and, while keeping

others out, create there an economic situation so impossible that a strong party of deliverance, one that held out hope of reasonable prices in the *halles* and at the same time could get rid of the offensive officials, would be welcomed into the city. It need hardly be emphasised that however far the French king felt bound to move from Paris (*s'éloigner* was the plaintive expression used by the Parisians) and whatever party was in actual control of the city, the centre of the royal administration, the courts of justice, the prisons (especially of the Palais and the two Châtelets) were all there. No other city—Tours, Troyes, Bourges—could compare with it as a rendezvous for the governing, executive interests of France, and there can be no greater mistake in studying these events than to relegate Paris to a minor position in the strategy of the English monarch.

The task of Henry V was made less complicated than it might have been just because the alienation of the French king from his capital was morally, if not physically, assured by the time that Henry entered upon the crucial phase of his campaign. That alienation is an extremely interesting process, since it has its roots in the transformation that was going on within the municipality itself at the end of the fourteenth century. This is marked by the rise of the *menu peuple*, smaller shopkeepers and journeymen, led by the butchers, appropriately the most violent of the crafts ; a revolutionary rather than a democratic movement, but one ready, as in the Cabochian Ordinance of 1413 prescribing elections in all the royal administrative offices, to seize on constitutional forms of government and run them to death. In the early fifteenth century the city was constantly on the edge of serious disorder ; the outbreaks, when they came, were against the *gens du roi*, typified by the friends of the Duke of Orléans. Whatever may be said of his foreign policy, and its immense financial outlay, the influence of Orléans in domestic affairs was of the most improvident kind, and offered opportunities for grave moralists of the University incongruously to join hands with momentarily reputable demagogues of the city. This influence it was that brought into the municipal politics of Paris the man whom Henry V's chaplain (with tart Englishry) calls ' a double-dealer, like all Frenchmen '. *Unus in publico et alius*

*in occulto* :[1] it is hard to know which to wonder at most ; the effrontery which could seek publicly to justify the murder of his principal opponent in 1407, or the power of insinuating himself into the affections of the *gens de petit estat* as the registrar, Clement de Fauquemberge, calls the more dangerous elements of Paris. From his own experience in Flanders, John the Fearless knew enough about the bourgeoisie and its dislike of the governing class of France to capture the affections of its city. As soon as Bernard of Armagnac had taken up, with more economy and more efficiency, the tradition of the murdered Duke of Orléans, John had two aims : to make himself master of Paris, and to divide up the lands of his enemies with the ally for whose help he was angling from 1411—England.

To take the second of these aims first. It should be noted that the negotiations which Duke John undertook with Henry V at the time of the Leicester parliament, 1414,[2] reached no conclusion on one very significant point. Henry V asked the Duke's ambassadors what the Duke would do, should the King of England take a fortress or make war outside the lands of the Duke's enemies, i.e. in the lands of the King of France ? The envoys answered that the matter had been much discussed, but that they could not commit the Duke without instructions. Did the Duke ever give those instructions ? There is no evidence one way or the other : yet that surely is the point. Duke John was not anxious that Henry should attack any but his enemies, least of all the capital. He was a peer of France, a peer of the royal blood : whatever he may have felt towards Queen Isabel, even he could feel some spark of loyalty to that object of pity as well as respect, Charles VI. His quarrel was not with Charles, but with the Armagnac league. Hence he held aloof from active intervention in the Agincourt campaign.

In the three years that followed, Henry V must have taken the measure of the man. In the autumn of 1416, after Sigismund, who came over to mediate between the two countries,

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, p. 104.

[2] O. Cartellieri, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Burgund ;* iv. *Konig Heinrich V von England und herzög Johan von Burgund im Jahre* 1414 (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 12 f.

had convinced himself that the French Government under Armagnac's influence was speaking with two voices, and had concluded the Treaty of Canterbury with England, Henry crossed to Calais to meet the Duke of Burgundy, and to submit the proposals of Sigismund for a final settlement of the dispute to the ambassadors of the King of France. The author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* says that he could not fathom the negotiations that went on. Duke John held the King *in amphiboliis et ambagibus*[1] and nothing transpired. The actual agreement between Henry and the Duke, which was kept absolutely secret, is printed in Rymer from the French Roll. It is not a formal document at all, but, in M. Calmette's words, a private minute by the Duke,[2] who therein recognised Henry and his descendants as heirs to the French throne, and promised to do liege homage to Henry, as soon as he had recovered a notable part of the kingdom. Historians have suggested that this document was never put into operation, and remained a dead letter. M. Calmette has conclusively shown that this was not so ;[3] yet the real problem, as I see it, is, how long the Duke remained faithful to it.

At first all went well. Henry was able to consolidate his conquests and move further up the Seine. Caen fell on 4th September, 1417; Argentan on 5th October; Alençon on the 23rd; Falaise, first attacked on 1st December, 1417, yielded on 2nd January, 1418. With his army based on Falaise, Caen, Bayeux, and Argentan, Henry could set about the rest of the duchy. Under 7th January, 1418, the Citizen of Paris records that ' at this time all the good towns of Normandy, like Rouen, Montivillers, Dieppe, and several others, when they saw how Caen, Harfleur, Falaise, and several other good towns of the

[1] *Loc. supra cit.*

[2] *Histoire du Moyen Âge*, ed. Glotz, t. vii, i, *La France et L'Angleterre en conflit*, p. 337 and n.: ' L'acte n'est qu'une minute, mais de la main du duc '. John promised (*Fœdera*, iv, 2, 177) ' que si tost, que à l'aide de Dieu, de nostre Dame et de Monsieur Saint George, le dit Roy d'Engleterre, etc., aura notable partie du dit royaulme de France, il fera au dit Roy d'Engleterre, etc., homaige liege et seremont de foialté, tielle comme soubgit du Royaume de France doit faire à son soveraine Siegneur Roy de France '.

[3] *Ibid.*

country had been seized by the English without any help coming to them from the King of France for all their entreaties, gave themselves up to the Duke of Burgundy '.[1] Rouen called in the Burgundian captain of Dieppe, Guy de Bouteillier. While his other captains did their work in other parts of Normandy, at Domfront and Cherbourg, Henry moved steadily up via Louviers, to Pont de Larche.

It was to be the turn of Rouen now. Yet Duke John never said a word to his captain about his understanding with Henry at Calais. Rouen must be permitted to delay the English king. But before Rouen could be assaulted, the Duke must make sure of his greatest prize. This was scarcely to assist Henry, as certain have implied : the Duke had taken fright at the formidable military machine that was ruthlessly deploying in the Seine valley. On the night of 29th May, he sent Jean de Villiers, the seigneur of L'Isle Adam, Guy de Bar and Claude de Chastellux into Paris to secure the city. There was no opposition, nothing but welcome ; the cross of St. Andrew was seen everywhere.[2] The Prevot, Tanneguy du Châtel, got away with the Dauphin ; but Count Bernard of Armagnac and the Chancellor, Henry de Marle, were captured and imprisoned in the Palais. The next fortnight saw incredible scenes of butchery and the complete ineffectiveness of any police arrangements. On 12th June the Armagnac leaders were pulled out of their prisons by the *gens de petit estat* and murdered, and the Italian banks were plundered.[3] The seals of the Chancery were lost and nobody knew where the chancellor had gone ; the King's signet was very hard worked indeed. Then followed a general displacement of royal officials by Burgundian supporters. On 14th July Duke John at last arrived with Queen Isabel from Troyes, and Paris received them with joy ; it seemed that the misgovernment of the King's officials would now come to an end with the death of men like the hated John Gaude, ' le pire de tous ',[4] an adventurer who from being a scullion had become master of the royal artillery. But how little control the Duke had over the city can be seen

[1] P. 84.
[2] *Journal de Clément de Fauquembergue*, ed. Tuetey, i, 127.
[3] *Ibid.*, i, 136. [4] Bourgeois, p. 92.

from the events on the night of 20th August, when again the small folk got out of hand and murdered two loyal knights of Charles VI,[1] Enguerrand de Marcoignet his chamberlain, and Hector of Chartres, father of Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims, whom they extracted from the Bois de Vincennes, whither they had been taken for protection (after 12th June) from the Bastide St. Antoine. The Prévôt's officer, who had put up no resistance to the *menu peuple*, was treated with incredible leniency when inquiries about the scandalous episode were made later.[2]

It is extremely interesting to watch the effect of the events of the summer and autumn upon the two Parisians to whom we owe the story of the city—the Citizen and the *greffier* or registrar. It is clear that not only the *gens de petit estat*, but the respectable bourgeoisie viewed the royal officials so displaced by the Burgundians with the deepest hatred. Yet the Burgundian entry made things much worse than from an economic point of view. At once the Armagnac party came plundering up to the gates of Paris.[3] From Corbeil, Montlhéry and Melun they came down the river, and tried to stop their Burgundian opponents getting any food from the country. On the other side, no food could come in from the lower Seine. The bourgeois was horrified by the great crowds surrounding the bakers' houses, and the enormous price of the simplest commodities. At Meaux, the religious of St. Denis tells us, the soldiers of the Dauphin blocked the approach from the east along the Marne.[4] Politically, the violent scenes in Paris had alienated the Dauphin from his father and left the King between two fires.

It was this economic stranglehold that led to the negotiations of the autumn of 1418 and the so-called reconciliation of the Dauphin with the Duke of Burgundy in the Treaty of St. Maur.[5] Duke John had overshot the mark by his seizure of Paris. The new officials and the promise of reform could not avert the threat of starvation. And there was Henry coming inexorably nearer.

[1] *Fauquembergue*, i, 150-152. [2] *Ibid.*, 154.

[3] Bourgeois, pp. 104-107, for the miseries suffered by Paris under these conditions. [4] *Chronique*, vi, 286.

[5] On the premature joy of the Paris citizens, cf. *ibid.*, vi, 282.

John had to recant, range himself with the party he hated, and make one last effort to stop the invader. When the siege of Rouen was over and the capitulation made (January, 1419), Henry did not hesitate for a moment. He marched straight to the neighbourhood of Paris and began the gradual reduction of the fortresses guarding the approach to the city ; as he continued he negotiated, always threatening to take more, always presenting his opponents with new facts. But in spite of the Treaty between the Dauphin and Burgundy, these new allies took no action. While the siege of Rouen was in progress, the King and the Duke of Burgundy stayed at Pontoise from 24th November to 28th December, wholly inactive.[1] After Rouen had fallen and the English king had advanced towards Pointoise, the King and the Duke were quiescent at St. Denis and ' gave no help to those at Pontoise '. The Citizen comments on the slowness of Burgundy : he is ' le plus long homme en tout ses besongnes qu'on peust trouver '[2]—the slowest man that could be found.

The crucial time was the days following the capitulation of Rouen. If in the first three months of 1419 the Treaty of St. Maur had been a reality, Henry could have been stopped, and might have had to be contented with Normandy. But the Duke's mind was divided. He had given Henry his promise of recognition and his homage. But he must have suspected and disliked the cautious and inflexible young strategist with his control of the sea and his strong communications insured by the earlier victory of the Seine, his captains punctual and disciplined, his power of concentration at the right moment. The Duke wanted to retain Paris where he had posed as a progressive, and to keep Armagnac influence away from the city : he hated the Dauphin, but the Dauphin had the chief strongholds of the *Parisis*, and was master of the Marne and the upper Seine : his army could live on the land without the pay that his own demanded, the pay without which it had always tended to melt away, for his men were far from their homes. He wanted Isabel for himself, but what was to be done with Charles VI, whose moments of sanity were becoming rarer ? The Dauphin's friends who struck John down at Montereau, and so gave Henry both France and the

[1] Bourgeois, p. 119. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Princess Katherine ' que tant avoms desiré ', struck down a man whose mind had worked itself into a muddle of conflicting impulses, whose determination to have incompatibles had led to a paralysis of the will. It was that paralysis that wrecked France when even after the fall of Rouen he could have saved her ; it was not the deed of Montereau nor the selfishness and intractability of the Armagnac party. Duke John is the man mainly responsible.

As soon as he was murdered, it was the people of Paris that in 1419-1420 took in hand to further the Anglo-Burgundian coalition. The English alliance was a matter of expediency, a lesser evil than a dauphinist domination. The Citizen of Paris puts the matter very well in describing the ravaging of the country by the Dauphinists. He wrote, ' the English on the other hand were as bad as the Saracens. But still it is much better to be taken by the English than by the Dauphin or his followers who call themselves Armagnacs '.[1] At the Council of Arras on 17th October, 1419, Paris definitely declares itself in favour not only of a truce, but ' a treaty and alliance with the King of England ' ; before the young Duke Philip and his nobles had actually decided on their future line of action. There is no sign, as far as I can see, at any rate at this stage, of the Burgundian pressure which M. Calmette considers responsible for Paris's recognition of the Treaty of Troyes. If there was no active friendship for England, the Anglo-Burgundian alliance was at least accepted as the best expedient ; and the ' most circumspect men ' of Paris, as Henry V called them, were engaged in making the best terms they could within the framework of the alliance, not in raising pedantic obstructions or creating difficulties for Henry. When Henry, on 29th February, refused to extend the truce affecting Paris and the surrounding territory unless the castle of Beaumont sur Oise was surrendered (thus hindering the passage of merchandise and food supplies to Paris), Fauquembergue records the outcome of the debate in the *parlement* as favourable to Henry ; the majority of the councillors decided that it would be more expedient than prejudicial to surrender the castle than to irritate the English uselessly.[2]

[1] P. 135. [2] i, 349-352.

Thus Paris did not listen to its own bishop's promise of world-wide fame, if it gave union to France by joining the Dauphin. And when on 29th April ambassadors from Troyes appeared and asked the *parlement* to accept the Treaty, the assembly 'respondirent " in turba " que oyl par les bouches de plusiers en très grant nombre'.

But did all occupied France, once the Treaty was made, bow to expediency and hide its real feelings? Three types of opinion towards the Treaty of Troyes can be discerned: the official governmental attitude set by Philip of Burgundy and the French court; the comments of the Burgundian chronicles and those of the dauphinists. The first of these was of necessity favourable; but favourable without enthusiasm. The Burgundian chronicles are judiciously reserved: Waurin, Le Fèvre, and Pierre Cochon refrain from general comments; Monstrelet speaks of the 'infinite risk' of changing a country's sovereign,[1] and at least hints that he considers the act prejudicial to King Charles;[2] but the *Chronique de Normandie* in one passage is more friendly than these:

a better arrangement both for King Charles and his kingdom could not have been desired.[3]

In the same spirit is a contemporary popular song which depicts the Princess Katherine, after bemoaning her fate and repelling her English husband, as crying—

Retourne-toi, embrasse-moi
Mon cher Anglais!
Puisque Dieu nous a assemblés,
Faut nous aimer.[4]

It was making the best of a bad job. But the dauphinist comments take us back to 1359. 'All the country on the other side of the river Loire (wrote Jean Juvénal of occupied France) is black and obscure for they have put themselves into the obedience of the English. But that country (beyond) remained

[1] Tr. Johnes, p. 424. [2] P. 436.

[3] Ed. B. Williams, in *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (1850), p. 201.

[4] In Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion Française*, p. 13. I owe this and the references to Fénin's *Mémoirs* to Miss E. Buckley.

pure and clear in the obedience of the Monseigneur le Dauphin.'[1] Writing in 1454 Juvénal considered Philip's action shameful and of no value, validity, or profit to himself, and will not give the full terms of the Treaty because of their iniquity and wickedness. And all people of understanding must consider the whole of no value nor effect. Alain Chartier considers the agreement as 'an outrageous and disloyal folly'.[2] Jean Chartier holds that the English have occupied the realm 'without reason' and that the oath of allegiance to the King of England is 'degrading and criminal'.[3] The south of France opposed the Treaty from the first and continued to show its disapproval in works like Blondel's *Complainte des bons Français*, Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue Invectif* and *Ballade de Fougères*, and the chronicle and pamphlets of Thomas Basin. In these the English are castigated for their cruelty, their treachery and deception, for their heretical beliefs, and the misery they have brought to Normandy. The situation in the Anglo-Burgundian territories is the most interesting, for even the varieties of opinion are most marked. The effect of Duke John's murder had been catastrophic. Fénin thought that the wave of feeling which it aroused was the real power behind the Anglo-Burgundian alliance and the young Philip's refusal of the Dauphin's excuses and offers of amendments:

> For his (Philip's) council always maintained that the father had been murdered at a time of peace and that no good would come from anything that Charles and his council did.[4]

The problem then was whether this was a strong enough sentiment to act as a moral cement between England and Burgundy, and whether the new régime would be sufficiently firm to keep order and sufficiently tolerant not to arouse dormant patriotic emotions. The upper classes in the Burgundian ranks could mostly be relied upon to respect the English as long as Duke Philip saw fit to continue the alliance; but there were important exceptions. Jacques d'Harcourt, Count of Tankarville

[1] Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VII*, ed. D. Godefroy (in *Histoire le Charles VI*, 1658), p. 377.

[2] *La Quadrilogue Invectif*, ed. L. Droz, p. 27.

[3] *Chronique de Charles VII*, ed. Vallet de Viriville, pp. 14, 26.

[4] Pierre de Fénin, *Mémoires*, ed. L. M. E. Dupont, p. 196.

and lord of Montgomery was the leading spirit among the nobles, who after some hesitation deserted to the Dauphin. He had shown himself in every way strangely attached to the Duke of Burgundy who, as Monstrelet said, honoured him above all others. At the end of December, 1420, Harcourt, who still pretended to be attached to the Duke, was waging 'grievous war by land and sea' on the English from his castle at Crotoy.[1] Fénin suggests the possible reason; Henry V held the lands of Harcourt's wife and refused to give them up; whereupon Harcourt 'turned to the party of the Dauphin'.[2] It was Harcourt who created round Araines and la Ferté centres of dauphinist activity. He became the Dauphin's lieutenant in the marches of Picardy and the Somme in 1421.[3] Sometimes the noble who is withdrawing his services from Burgundy absents himself without making any formal adhesion to the Dauphin: he simply departs from a siege or important undertaking. Thus the Prince of Orange, as the Burgundian chroniclers note, departed from the siege of Melun. Waurin gives as his reason the plague raging among the besiegers,[4] but Monstrelet and Le Fèvre keep silent about his reasons.[5] Two dauphinist writers, Juvénal and Le Bouvier, put most patriotic speeches into his mouth. Juvénal makes the Prince, when asked to take the oath of loyalty to the new settlement, reply that 'he was ready to serve the Duke of Burgundy, but that he should take an oath to put the realm into the hands of the ancient enemy, that he never would do'.[6] Waurin himself reported the common rumour that the Prince, 'with a great number of Burgundians', refused to accompany Duke Philip from Paris to Meaux, where the Duke was to meet King Henry, 'so that he could not be required or constrained by Henry to take an oath to him'.[7] It should be said that the refusal to accept the Treaty of Troyes was by no means equivalent to joining the dauphinist cause. Nor should these and other examples of pro-Burgundian rather

[1] Monstrelet, p. 452; Waurin, p. 550.
[2] Fénin, *Mémoires*, p. 152.
[3] Wylie and Waugh, *The Reign of Henry V*, iii, 353.
[4] Waurin, p. 339.
[5] Monstrelet, p. 449; Le Fèvre, *Chronique*, ed. F. Moraud, ii, 18.
[6] P. 382. [7] Le Bouvier, p. 440.

than pro-English feeling weigh too heavily in the balance. Philip retained many of his lords as active participants in the war on the English side.

It must be admitted that the English made few efforts to endear themselves; the French nobility, accustomed to the slack and rather haphazard rule of former governments, doubtless objected to the rather rigid control now imposed upon them, especially Henry's attempt to preserve the common people from the great extortions that the nobles made in France and Picardy and throughout all the realm; and specially he (Henry) could no longer suffer that they could billet their horses, dogs and birds on the clergy or common people as they were accustomed to do.[1]

The English were often high-handed, dour, and pernickety. Even before the Treaty of Troyes, John Cornwall had made a *faux pas* in taking prisoners the dauphinist garrison of Roye which held John Luxembourg's safe-conduct and permission to depart. The Burgundian escort under Hector of Saveuse protested against Cornwall's action, but Cornwall merely—

> frappa Hector de Saveuse sur la main aiant son gauntlet, dont Hector fut bien mal content, mais il n'en peut avoir autre chose.[2]

At Sens the Earl of Huntingdon delayed negotiations with the besieged by refusing to treat with the town's ambassador, 'who had a great beard'. 'This was not the guise of the English', and treating could not begin until the beard had been shaved off and English æsthetic sensibilities satisfied.[3] Between the Allies, English and Burgundians there was a good deal of rivalry; the English would declare that they were 'les plus fors';[4] at Melun they declared one of the Burgundian assaults 'a mad enterprise', despite Henry V's diplomatic praise of it.[5]

None of the chronicles accuse Henry of favouring the English: on the contrary, they regard his stern treatment of offending Englishmen with admiration and wonder. There is very little truth in the charge made in Fénin, that he took the administration of the country into his own hands, and replaced

[1] Fénin, *Mémoires*, p. 187.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123; Monstrelet, p. 432.
[3] Fénin, *Mémoires*, p. 138.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[5] Juvénal, p. 381.

officials appointed by Duke John and Philip by men of his own choice.[1] Noted Burgundians were appointed to most dignities and to most conquered towns and fortresses outside Normandy. There were exceptions, of course, which the nobility may have been quick to note. The Count of St. Pol lost his position as lieutenant of Paris to the Duke of Clarence ; the Sire de Humbercourt was replaced as bailli of Amiens by Robert le Jeune, an English favourite, and, according to the chronicles—though the point is doubtful—L'Isle Adam was removed from the marshalship of France. Indeed, Henry even went out of his way to reward friends of Burgundy involved in the Cabochian régime of 1413.

But the new order was a severe one for any that sought to relations with the Dauphin, or even with parts of the country under his obedience. Between occupied and unoccupied France a great gulf was fixed. In the letters of remission among the Paris documents published by M. Longnon, it appears that to receive private and wholly unpolitical correspondence from territories below the Loire was enough to condemn a man to banishment, and any harbouring of strangers and friends from the unoccupied parts might lead to very serious penalties.[2] Considerable numbers fled from Paris and the surrounding area when the English and Burgundians came, and went to settle in countries held by the Dauphin. They thought that their exile would not be long, but as years went by they began to regret Paris and their goods that had been confiscated because they had absented themselves, and to seek letters of grace from the new Government upon oath of good behaviour. Between the battle of Verneuil (17th May, 1424) and the appearance of Joan of Arc the number of these graces increased [3] and it points to the general discouragement of the conquered.

Seven years were to elapse from this conquest before the flame of France burned once again. The danger of such long periods lies in their encouragement to apathy, in the tendency of the conquered, under threats and blandishments, to accept their

[1] *Mémoires*, p. 150.

[2] *Paris pendant la domination anglaise*, pp. 21-23, 207, 238-239.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xv, and the examples there cited.

new status to which they become accustomed, and to acquiesce in the very efficiency of a government imposed by force and maintained by diplomacy. Even when the Maid appeared, and, like a meteor, lit the earth and went out again, nobody suspected that it was more than a temporary success for the Dauphin. Yet her condemnation as a relapsed heretic and her death in Anglo-Burgundian hands has come to mean more for history than her victories over the enemy. We can see, as contemporaries could not see, that the cruder her confusion of religion and politics, the stronger beat the heart of free France, the France that will outlast the captains who claimed and claim to hold her in subjection.

# ST. PAUL IN EPHESUS: (4) THE CORINTHIAN CORRESPONDENCE.[1]

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IN this lecture I propose to carry a stage further the plan begun in the last, and to ask what light we can obtain on the relations between St. Paul and the Jerusalem community from a study of II Corinthians. For the purposes of this study I shall assume the truth of the hypothesis that chapters x.-xiii. of II Cor. are a part of the 'severe letter.'[2] That is to say, using the notation suggested in the last lecture, I Cor. is Cor. B (the so-called 'previous letter' being Cor. A), II Cor. x.-xiii. is part of Cor. C, and II Cor. i.-ix is Cor. D (or the greater part of it). We may dispense ourselves from the necessity of going over the detailed arguments for this partition of II Cor., since they have been stated solidly, brilliantly, and, to my mind, convincingly by J. H. Kennedy.[3]

Accordingly the starting-point for our present purpose will be a brief recapitulation of the conclusions reached in our study of I Cor. The main points are two. In the first part of the letter we have positive evidence of the existence in the Corinthian Church of a section whose rallying-cry is the name Cephas; that is, they claim Peter as their leader. In the second half, in the discussion of particular problems, it seems a fair inference that the Corinthian community was exposed to criticism from the Jewish-Christian side, and that some at least of this criticism,

[1] An expansion of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of January, 1942.

[2] It is clear from II Cor. ii. 9 ff. that the severe letter contained a demand for disciplinary action against a member of the Corinthian Church. No such demand appears in II Cor. x.-xiii. Therefore if these chapters are part of the severe letter, they can be only a part, and not the whole of it.

[3] *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, 1900.

though certainly not all, was justified. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Cephas party were the main channel, if not the source, of the Jewish-Christian criticisms. There is, however, nothing in I Cor. to suggest that there is a crisis in the affairs of the Church at Corinth. Indeed at the end of I Cor. Paul has no idea of visiting them in the immediate future: and the visit planned and mentioned in I Cor. xvi. is part of a routine trip through Macedonia and Achaea, which is not to begin until full use has been made of existing opportunities for missionary work in the province of Asia. It is anticipated that these opportunities will keep the Apostle occupied until Pentecost, that is, until early summer. I am inclined to think that in making these plans he was looking at least six months ahead and that I Cor. was probably written in the autumn, or at latest the early winter, of the previous year. I think, too, that there is a reasonable probability that Titus was the bearer of I Cor. and that he was to supervise the arrangements for the relief fund for the Jerusalem Church. On this view a period of almost a year elapsed between the dispatch of Cor. B and Cor. D. I will devote the first part of this paper to the investigation of what happened during this period, beginning with an examination of Paul's travel plans.

The first plan made by Paul has already been mentioned. It is in I Cor. xvi. The provisions it makes are these: Paul will remain at Ephesus till Pentecost (early summer); then he will visit the Macedonian Churches and come on to Corinth, where he will perhaps stay the winter; afterwards he *may* go to Jerusalem with the Relief Fund. We may notice that the plan is definite only in the earlier parts: the later stages are vague and provisional. However, the whole project was considerably modified by a second plan of which we learn in II Cor. i. 15 ff. (Cor. D). There Paul tells the Corinthians that he had intended to make Corinth his first port of call after leaving Ephesus; thence proceed to Macedonia and, after visiting the Churches there, return to Corinth for a longer stay. After that he would go to Jerusalem. There can, I think, be no doubt that this second plan is later than that described in I Cor. xvi. The visit to Jerusalem, which in I Cor. is only a

possibility, is here definitely decided upon. As in the first plan we have the intention to visit Macedonia ; only now it is postponed slightly in order to allow a preliminary visit to Corinth. Both plans assume that the work at Ephesus is, for the time being at any rate, completed ; and no provision is made for any return to Ephesus.

Two questions at once spring to the mind when we consider this change of plan. Why must a visit be paid to Corinth before the Macedonian tour begins? And why must Paul go to Jerusalem after the round of visits? Any answer must be conjectural ; but it seems a reasonable conjecture that affairs in Corinth were causing the Apostle some anxiety, that he hoped by a personal visit to reinforce the appeal made in Cor. B, that the main trouble arose from the activities of the Cephas party, and that he hoped by the early visit to Corinth to check it there and, by the later visit to Jerusalem, to put a stop to these intrusions into his sphere of work. There are no indications that, when Paul made this second plan, any sort of crisis had developed at Corinth. Rather, the situation may well have appeared to be one that could be dealt with by tactful friendly discussion on a personal visit. It seems to me certain that this plan, which superseded that in I Cor. xvi., was seriously intended by Paul. Was it ever carried out?

The usual answer to this question is no. It is assumed that, before it could be put into operation, Paul received news from Corinth which so disturbed him that he undertook an immediate visit to the Church there. This visit was unsuccessful and painful to the Apostle, who returned humiliated to Ephesus. He then wrote the ' severe letter ' (Cor. C) and sent it by Titus to Corinth. After this he wound up his missionary work in Ephesus and set out for the Troad, where he could not settle to anything because of his anxiety about Corinth and the absence of news. He, therefore, went on into Macedonia and there, to his infinite relief, met Titus bringing news of a complete submission by the Corinthian Church.

It is necessary to point out that a good deal of this reconstruction is pure conjecture, without a shred of evidence to support it. There is not a word in our documents about disturbing

news coming from Corinth to Ephesus and causing Paul to undertake a special visit to Corinth. There is not a word about a return to Ephesus after the painful visit, not a word about winding up the Ephesian missionary campaign after the painful visit. I think it possible that we can get along without all these conjectures on the assumption that Paul began to carry out his revised plan as arranged.

Now this plan provided for a visit to Corinth at the outset. Let us suppose that this visit in fact took place. It follows at once that this, the first stage of the revised plan, is the painful visit referred to later by Paul. What exactly happened on this occasion we do not know and have no means of discovering. It seems clear, though, that the troubles in the Corinthian community were not of a sort to yield to tactful persuasions during a friendly visit. The Apostle left Corinth thwarted and with the feeling that he had been ill-treated by those from whom he was entitled to expect kindness and loyalty. It further appears from II Cor. ii. 5-8 that a specific wrong was done by some member of the Corinthian community, but whether at this time or later, and whether to Paul himself or to one of his helpers, it is not possible to say.

Paul left Corinth. In II Cor. i. 23 and ii. 1 he tells them that he decided not to come back and gives his reasons for the decision. It was partly for their sakes and partly for his own. If he came again he would be compelled to deal drastically with his opponents and that would inflict suffering on the community which he wished to avoid. It would also cause additional suffering to himself, and he had already endured a good deal at their hands. So instead of a visit they received a letter (Cor. C or the 'severe letter'), of which a part is, I think, preserved in II Cor. x.-xiii.

Here we must pause to ask where Paul went after the painful visit. If we suppose that he was carrying out his revised plan, the answer is that he went on to Macedonia. The visit to Corinth that was cancelled would then be the return visit which had been intended to follow the Macedonian tour.[1] To go

[1] There are some small indications in the text which seem to support this view. [*Footnote continued on page* 331.

on to Macedonia would be the obvious and sensible thing to do. For if things were so bad in Corinth, it was most advisable to take steps at once to prevent a similar state of affairs from developing in the Macedonian Churches. No useful purpose would be served by a return to Ephesus.

I therefore conjecture that after the painful visit Paul went on to Macedonia as he had planned to do. If Titus had been in Corinth since the despatch of Cor. B, it is to be supposed that he accompanied Paul. Some time after this departure Cor. C was written, probably from Macedonia and at the time when Paul should have begun the return journey to Corinth. Our knowledge of this letter comes from two sources : (*a*) what Paul tells us about it in Cor. D ; (*b*) the fragment of it preserved in II Cor. x.-xiii.

(*a*) He wrote in great trouble and anguish of heart and with many tears (II Cor. ii. 4). His object was twofold : to

(i) In II Cor. i. 23 Paul says *φειδόμενος ὑμῶν οὐκέτι ἦλθον εἰς Κόρινθον*. The use of *οὐκέτι* here is more natural if the reference is to the return visit planned to follow the Macedonian trip. If Paul sitting in Ephesus had abandoned the entire plan and decided to go to Macedonia instead, we should have expected the simple *οὐκ*. (The textual evidence strongly supports *οὐκέτι*. *οὐκέτι* $P^{46}$ ℵABCD, non ultra *vg.*, nondum *r Ambst. Aug.*, *οὐκ* FG *d e g Ambr. Pel. pesh. cop.*)

(ii) In II Cor. ii. 1 Paul says *ἔκρινα δὲ ἐμαυτῷ τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν*. Here again the use of *πάλιν* seems more natural if it was a return trip that was abandoned.

(iii) In II Cor. ii. 3 f. Paul explains that he wrote the severe letter in order to avoid another painful visit : *ἵνα μὴ ἐλθὼν λύπην [ἐπὶ λύπην] σχῶ*. Here there is a textual point which deserves discussion. The bracketed words *ἐπὶ λύπην* are given by DFG *minn. it. vg Pelagius* $syr^{hcl}$, and are commonly dismissed as an assimilation to Phil. ii. 27. As a matter of pure probability it is much more likely that some scribal eye jumped to the second *λύπην* than that a scribal memory jumped to Phil. ii. 27. Further the fact that Paul uses the phrase in Phil. does not debar him from using it again in suitable circumstances ; and it may be argued that the circumstances are eminently suitable. Paul had already had one experience of *λύπη* during the painful visit, and he was not disposed to add another on top of it by paying another visit. It may be remarked in passing that one declared purpose of the additional visit was *ἵνα δευτέραν χάριν* (*χαρὰν* $ℵ^{c}$BLP etc.) *σχῆτε*. Paul was determined that it should not be a *δευτέρα λύπη*. (The bearing of the passages on one another may perhaps turn the balance in favour of *χαράν* in i. 15.) It may be claimed that ii. 3 reads most naturally if Paul is explaining why he did not come back to Corinth from Macedonia.

demonstrate his own love to them and to test their loyalty and obedience to him (II Cor. ii. 4, 9). It appears from II Cor. ii. 5-11 that the letter tested the obedience of the Corinthians by making a specific demand for disciplinary action against a particular person who had caused pain by some wrongful act. In II Cor. vii. 12 we are told that this issue was raised in this ultimatum-like way not as a personal matter affecting the wrong-doer or the injured party (no names are mentioned) but as a sort of test case concerned with the whole relation of the community to its founder.

(*b*) When we turn to II Cor. x.-xiii., we find that in general it tallies with this description. By far the largest part of these chapters is taken up with the assertion of Paul's apostolic status and authority, including judicial powers (x. 1-9). He insists that he is no whit inferior to what he calls the ' super-Apostles ' (xi. 5 ; xii. 11) ; and it is clear from xi. 22-31 that these super-Apostles came from Palestine. He insists that in birth, standing, and achievements he is the equal of anyone from that quarter. In the matter of special religious experiences also he can stand comparison with any (xii. 1-10). He has in fact all the marks of an Apostle (xii. 12 f.). So far as the Church at Corinth is concerned, they owe everything to him ; and he has taken nothing from them. He preached the Gospel to them gratis (xi. 7-12), and he has not had and does not want any gain from them (xii. 14-18). The challenge to this authority claimed by Paul comes from persons at Corinth who make personal attacks on him saying that he is a strong man on paper, but only on paper (x. 10 f.), that he runs away from danger (xi. 32 f.). These persons are trying to introduce their own version of Christianity into Corinth (xi. 4), and themselves as the spiritual lords and masters of the community (xi. 13, 20)—and not without success. The time has come when he ought to be returning to Corinth for his third visit ; but he is not coming to them as they are, for if he did, there could be only one result and that disastrous (xii. 19-21 ; xiii. 1-10). Let them amend their ways while there is still time.

I think it necessary to emphasise the fact that the four chapters are of this character because this seems to me to be

one of the strongest reasons for regarding them as part of Cor. C. These emphatic, even violent, assertions of his apostolic status and authority would be pointless, and indeed positively harmful, addressed to a Church which had already recognised fully the claims of the Apostle. I think it necessary too to emphasise the fact that the most serious threat to Paul's position at this time came not from within the community but from without, and in particular from Palestine. In I Cor. a name is mentioned, a Palestinian name, the name of one of the Twelve, the name of Cephas. In Galatians, which I regard as belonging to this period, Paul speaks of trouble that had broken out on a previous occasion in Antioch, and curiously enough the tension is again between Paul and Cephas, with James in the background at Jerusalem. The Galatian and Corinthian epistles are all of a piece: they all reflect the same situation of conflict between Paul and the Palestinian Church, caused, I think, by the attempts of the Jerusalem authorities, in defiance of the agreement made with Paul (Gal. ii. 9), to extend their power and influence into the churches of his foundation. I think we may find some confirmation of this view when we come to consider the results achieved by the severe letter.

Titus was sent to Corinth with this letter. Paul meantime set out on a missionary expedition in the Troad.[1] We are not told what arrangements were made with Titus. From the nature of the case they could not be other than provisional. It could not be known beforehand what would happen when he reached Corinth. He might be sent to the right about immediately and come straight back to Paul. He might, on the other hand, be engaged in protracted negotiations and discussions which might end favourably or unfavourably for Paul. Nor could Paul say beforehand how things would go in the Troad. In the circumstances we can only conjecture that some very flexible plan was made. Titus was to return to Macedonia from his mission to Corinth. If Paul was still in the Troad, he would continue and join the Apostle there. On the other

[1] The use of the article (*εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα*) would seem to favour the view that the scene of the campaign was the whole area in the N.W. corner of Asia Minor, rather than just the port of Alexandreia Troas.

hand, if circumstances caused Paul to leave the Troad earlier, he would return to Macedonia and await Titus there. Something of this sort may well have been arranged. It would seem that in the event Titus made a fairly long stay at Corinth. Paul worked on in the Troad fighting against his own anxieties about the mission of Titus. The time came when he might expect to see Titus if the mission had been an immediate success ; but there was no sign of Titus. In these circumstances concentration on missionary work became impossible. Sick with worry, Paul broke off the work and hurried back to Macedonia.[1] Here to his great relief he met Titus and received the news that the Corinthian Church had come to its senses.

It is important to get a clear picture of the nature of the submission made by the Corinthians ; and here, fortunately, we can extract a good deal of information from Cor. D (II Cor. i.-ix.) which Paul sent off to Corinth on hearing the good news. First it appears that Paul's demand for disciplinary action against a certain individual had been complied with and that what Paul regarded as adequate punishment had been meted out to him by a decision of the majority of the members.[2] This overt act was the outward and visible sign of a complete change in the attitude of the community towards Paul. This inward change is mentioned in chapter vii., and it is very significant that Paul speaks of it twice, in *v.* 7 and again at greater length in *v.* 11. I translate the whole passage (vii. 5-11) :

> For even when we came into Macedonia, our flesh had no repose, but we were troubled at every point : fightings without, fears within. But he who ' comforts those who are brought low '—God—comforted us by the arrival of

[1] I think it possible—not more—that the strain of this period caused a serious illness, and that this is the ' *θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ* ' described in II Cor. i. 8 ff. For the view that in these verses Paul is describing a severe attack of some chronic malady, perhaps a fever, see Allo, *Seconde Épître aux Corinthiens* (1937), pp. 15-19.

[2] I agree with those scholars who think that the minority were probably strong adherents of Paul, who regarded the punishment as insufficient and were demanding a severer penalty. Paul himself did not share their view ; but, once the rights of the matter had been vindicated, was all for clemency towards the offender (II Cor. ii. 5-11).

Titus; and not only by his arrival, but also by the encouragement he had received with regard to you, reporting to us your longing, your grief, your taking of my side, so that I was still more pleased. For if I grieved you by the letter, I do not regret it. If I was inclined to regret it on seeing [1] that that letter, even if only momentarily, grieved you, I now rejoice, not because you were put to grief but because you were put to a grief that led to repentance; for you were grieved in godly fashion, so that you might not at all be penalised by us. For sorrow of the godly sort produces repentance which has no regrets since it issues in salvation; while worldly sorrow produces death. For see this very thing, this being grieved in godly fashion, what earnestness it produced in you, what desire to clear yourselves, what indignation, what fear, what longing, what loyalty, what retribution! At every point you have shown yourselves to be blameless in the matter.

I think it is worth our while to pay particular attention to the terms in which Paul describes the Corinthian change of mind in *v.* 7 and *v.* 11. In *v.* 7 he speaks of three things: their *ἐπιπόθησις*, their urgent desire and longing to have Paul back among them and in his rightful place; their *ὀδυρμός*, their open and obvious grief at what had happened; their *ζῆλος ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ*, their enthusiastic partisanship for Paul. In *v.* 11 is a more detailed account of the change in the Corinthian community. The grief aroused by the letter made them (*a*) take the matter seriously to heart (*σπουδήν*), (*b*) seek some way of clearing themselves (*ἀπολογίαν*); (*c*) it made them indignant at the way in which they had been put in the wrong with Paul (*ἀγανάκτησιν*), and (*d*) not without reason apprehensive of the consequences (*φόβον*). At the same time it (*e*) renewed their desire to have Paul back in full amity (*ἐπιπόθησιν*), and (*f*) put

[1] Reading *μετεμελόμην βλέπων* for *μετεμελόμην · βλέπω γὰρ κτλ.* The omission of *γάρ* is supported by $P^{46}$ BD* *d vg Ambst*; the reading *βλέπων* by $P^{46}$ and *vg*. Hort conjectured *βλέπων* on the strength of *vg* alone, as did Lachmann before him. Now *vg* has the support of $P^{46}$. Doubtless *βλέπω* arose from *ΒΛΕΠΩ̄*. Then *γάρ* was inserted to ease the awkward construction. For *ω̄* in participial termination at the end of a line see $P^{46}$ at I Cor. ix. 17, *ΕΚΩ̄ . . . ΑΚΩ̄*; II Cor. v. 19, *ΚΑΤΑΛΛΑCCΩ̄*.

them on his side with an enthusiastic loyalty hitherto lacking (ζῆλον). Finally (*g*), this loyalty to the Apostle made them take practical steps to right the wrong done, by disciplinary action against the wrong-doer. In this way they cleared themselves of any further complicity in the matter.

If we give full value to these terms it is fairly evident that there had been a definite anti-Paul campaign in Corinth, and that many members of the Church there had allowed themselves to be seduced from their loyalty to Paul by it. I have no doubt that the originators of the attack came from Jerusalem, and I strongly suspect that they claimed the authority of Peter. I think that they probably found tools as well as dupes in the Corinthian community, and that the wrong-doer whose punishment Paul demanded in the severe letter was perhaps a sort of Corinthian quisling, who had hastened to identify himself with the spiritual new order that was to be established among the Gentile Christians.

All that had now been swept away and proper relations between Paul and the Corinthian Church were established more firmly than ever.

On Paul's side, too, there is a notable change which we should not overlook. When the question of parties and loyalties first raised its head he dealt with it by way of eloquent appeal against taking sides. 'For all things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's.' All the missionaries are at the service of the community. The Church was not made for the Apostles, but the Apostles for the Church. Paul is ready to efface himself, as no doubt the others are too, for the sake of the Church, which belongs to Christ, who belongs to God. So Paul. His appeal, we may suppose, had the effect that gestures of appeasement so often have—of cooling the enthusiasm of his own supporters and encouraging his opponents. The result was to precipitate a crisis in which he found himself unable to cope with the opposition for lack of support in the community; so we get the frustrations and humiliations of the painful visit. As a result appeasement was dropped and the severe letter

was written. It did its work and now Paul can rejoice, and does rejoice aloud, in the fact that he has so many loyal and enthusiastic supporters in Corinth.

The thoroughness of the change of heart at Corinth appears in another and subsidiary way (vii. 13-16). Paul is intensely pleased at the impression made on Titus by his reception in Corinth: how they received him with fear and trembling and complete submission. It appears that the new attitude to the Apostle was extended to his lieutenants also. Paul says that he had led Titus to think that the Corinthians would turn out to be better than they seemed when the severe letter was being written, and the expectation had not been disappointed. We may perhaps infer that Titus himself had had an unfortunate first experience of the Corinthians, which the words of Paul and later the acts of the Corinthians themselves had been able to correct.

The result of Paul's severe letter and Titus' visit is thus a personal triumph for the Apostle, who overcame at a blow all the opposition that had been organised at Corinth and reasserted his position as the Apostle of the Corinthians—and the Gentiles generally. Out of all this strain and tension, fear and anxiety, followed by sudden relief and reassurance, joy and gladness, comes the last letter in the series. In it, as A. D. Nock well says, 'Paul sets forth his deepest reflection on the Christian ministry in its relation to those who hear its message and to those whose minds are closed, in relation again to the ministry of the law. Suffering is of the essence of this vocation.'[1] We may add that these reflections are not mere theorising about the nature of the Christian ministry, but all brought to the touchstone of recent and searching practical experience. And this is borne out most strikingly by the very structure of the letter, where the profound exposition of the ministry of reconciliation is set in the framework of a detailed explanation of Paul's former plans and why they were altered and of his future plans and all the ins and outs of the raising of the relief fund for the Jerusalem Church.[2]

[1] *St. Paul*, p. 202.

[2] It is really very remarkable how this long excursus suddenly begins at ii. 14, when Paul is describing how he broke off his missionary campaign in the

[*Footnote continued on page* 338.

The subject of the Jerusalem relief fund is dealt with in Cor. D, viii.-ix., chapters which are not free from difficulties and obscurities. Indeed they seem to reflect a certain embarrassment on the part of the writer himself. He was never quite at his ease when he was dealing with the financial side of the work, a characteristic which is probably to be put down to his proud and sensitive nature. He hated asking for money, even for other people; and the letter to the Philippians shows how difficult it was for him to accept gifts, even spontaneous and unrequested gifts, in an easy and gracious manner. It would take too long to deal at all adequately with the various points that arise in these two chapters, and I must be content to state summarily what seem to me to be the most probable conclusions.

I am inclined to think that Titus had been the bearer of Cor. B (I Cor.) and had begun the organisation of the collection at Corinth on the lines suggested in that letter. It is quite possible that in the troubles that broke out in Corinth the finances of this fund had a place, and even that insinuations were made reflecting on the integrity of Paul and Titus. Something of this sort may well lie behind the indignant protests of II Cor. xii. 14-18 (Cor. C). Now that relations between Paul and Corinth are once more as they should be, Titus is sent again as the bearer of Cor. D to resume the work of the collection (II Cor. viii. 6). Paul hopes that by the time he himself arrives in Corinth the fund will amount to something worthy to stand beside the generous contribution already made by the Churches of Macedonia. And that is as far as the letters take us in the reconstruction of events at the close of the Ephesian period.

It may be asked how the reconstruction here proposed tallies with the narrative of Acts. The Ephesian ministry occupies chapter xix. of Acts, of which the first twenty verses cover a period of about two years and a quarter. There we

Troad and returned to Macedonia. The excursus continues to vii. 4, and Paul resumes at vii. 5 the narrative which had been broken off at ii. 13. With almost any author but Paul we should begin to wonder whether the text was in order.

(I should perhaps add, at this point, that the passage vi. 14-vii. 1 does not seem to me to be in place where it is. It is possible, as some scholars have thought, that it is a surviving fragment of the 'previous letter,' Cor. A.)

are told (*vv.* 21 f.) that Paul made travel plans according to which, after a tour through Macedonia and Achaea, he would go to Jerusalem. Thereafter he was determined to see Rome. He accordingly sent two of his lieutenants, Timothy and Erastus, to Macedonia, while he himself stayed some time longer in Asia.[1] After this comes the account of the Ephesian riot (Ac. xix. 23-41). This story is introduced by the phrase ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον, a time reference which is probably not so precise as it looks. It is significant that the only other occurrence of the term is at Ac. xii. 1 (κατ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν) where it introduces Herod's execution of James and arrest of Peter into the context of the famine-relief visit of Paul and Barnabas, a visit which took place some two years after the death of Herod. We must therefore not assume that because the story of the Ephesian riot is introduced at this point in the narrative, it happened at just this stage in the course of events. It may have happened at any point in the Ephesian ministry, though a late date is perhaps more likely than an early one.

The account of the riot is followed by the statement (Lake and Cadbury's translation):

> After the disturbance had ceased Paul sent for the disciples, and with exhortation and farewell departed to go to Macedonia. And he went through those districts and exhorted them with much discourse and came to Greece (Ac. xx. 1 f.).

This adds little or nothing. It tells us that the author of Acts, having inserted the story of the riot at this point, is now under the necessity of making Paul start out again from Ephesus,

[1] αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. The preposition is noteworthy and also, as Blass noted, the use of the term Asia. Acts does not say that Paul remained behind at Ephesus, but that he stayed some time in Asia; and εἰς suggests that the time was spent in visits to parts of the province other than Ephesus. But the information is of the vaguest kind and really tells us nothing beyond the fact that there was some activity in the province of Asia in the period after Paul's decision to end the Ephesian ministry and his final departure for Macedonia and Achaea. This may well be an echo of the fact attested by Paul himself in II Cor. that he conducted a mission in the Troad during this period. In any case Acts knows nothing of a painful visit to Corinth with a subsequent return to Ephesus.

though in xix. 22 he seems already to have left for travel in Asia. The conclusion of the whole matter is that the author of Acts knew much less than we do about events at the end of the Ephesian ministry. He knew of a travel plan made by Paul which resembles in certain respects that announced by Paul in I Cor. He knew in a vague way that between the decision to close the Ephesian ministry and the final journey through Macedonia to Corinth, there had been a period of time spent in Asia. He knew that eventually Paul did go to Corinth via Macedonia. These bits of information are not inconsistent with the reconstruction based on Paul's own statements, which I have attempted in this paper.

I will end with a few remarks on the long passage in Cor. D (ii. 14-vii. 4), in which Paul sets forth his convictions about the Christian ministry, which for him is a ministry of reconciliation. The first thing to be said is that Paul does not mean by this a ministry of compromise or appeasement. The reconciliation which he has in mind is reconciliation to God on God's terms as laid down once and for all in the Gospel. It would consequently be a mistake to suppose that Paul in Cor. D is any less 'anti-Jewish' than in earlier statements of the case. His convictions about the Law and the Gospel may be less violently stated in Cor. D than in Galatians (or for that matter, Philippians), but they are not less strongly held; and if a right-wing Jewish-Christian would have got fewer shocks from Cor. D, he would have got no more comfort. The truth seems to be that in Cor. D the heat and bitterness of the controversy is, for the time at least, over; and we are now on the way towards the calm and considered statement of the case which Paul was able to give a few months later in the letter that we call Romans. But it *is* the Law and Gospel issue that is and has been the central issue all through, the question whether or not Christianity was to be just a movement within the framework of Pharisaic Judaism or a universal religion which fulfilled and, in fulfilling, superseded Judaism. What Paul thought on this question can be seen as clearly in II Cor. as in any other of his letters of this period.

Only it is vital to our understanding of the controversies

of this period that we should constantly remember that Pharisaic Judaism was always a vast deal more than the meticulous cultivation of an elaborate system of legal casuistry. Pharisaic Judaism expressed itself in the book of Daniel and in the *Psalter of Solomon* as well as in the legal subtleties of the *Mishnah*. It had its organisation as well as its code, its devotional life as well as its book of rules. From this point of view reception into the commonwealth of Israel was a real condition of salvation. The messianic hope was the hope of the triumphant vindication of Israel; and it is that hope that is expressed in the canticles at the beginning of Luke's gospel; it is that hope that is expressed in the question addressed by the Eleven to the Risen Lord at the beginning of Acts: 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?'

Paul's acceptance of Christianity means the giving up of all this, a fact which finds expression in more than one place in the letters of this period, and in particular in II Cor. v. 16. I feel sure that Baur [1] and those who followed him were right in thinking that Paul, when he speaks of 'knowing Christ κατὰ σάρκα' means holding a this-worldly view of the nature of Messiahship. If so, we may argue that in this passage Paul is maintaining that the true Messianic task is universal reconciliation of man to God. He remarks in passing, 'If I ever believed that the Messiah had merely to exalt Israel to world-dominion, I no longer hold that view.' Out of all the storm and stress of the Ephesian period one thing had come out clear, and that was the crucial thing for the young Church. Paul had cleared up once and for all the relation between the Gospel and that complex structure of beliefs, hopes, and practices which was the Pharisaic Judaism of the first century A.D.

[1] Baur, *Vorlesungen über N.T. Theologie*, p. 131: 'κατὰ σάρκα erkannte er Christus, solange er nur die nationaljüdische Vorstellung von Messias hatte, und das Wesentliche dieser Vorstellung war, dass der Messias keines solchen Todes sterben sollte, wie der Tod Jesu war.' In this connexion I would draw attention to an admirable discussion of II Cor. v. 16, by F. C. Porter, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlvii. (1928), 257-275, in which he argues convincingly that to know κατὰ σάρκα means to know selfishly, regarding what is known from the point of view of our own selfish interests. Nationalistic messianism could certainly be regarded as just that in a generalised and intensified form.

# PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ENGLISH SOCIAL STRATIFICATION.[1]

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THE subjects of the addresses which I have been honoured to deliver here since 1937, though familiar to the psychologist, present many challenging aspects if he is not content to follow fashion. To-day's theme, however, is almost untouched by psychologists, and has attracted surprisingly little attention from sociologists. Our wonder at this fact is less when we realise that this tepidity of interest itself offers a psychological problem. There are social forces which make it difficult for a professional thinker, whether literary or scientific, to regard his own position in society objectively, and fully to comprehend its meaning in a wider social pattern.

I would call your attention to 'English' in the title. Stratification exists in most societies, yet upon the English it exerts a powerful, subtle influence. In younger culture-patterns, matters are less complex. A well-known American textbook of social psychology does not mention social stratification in its index, but makes many references to 'socio-economic status', which in England is not the same thing. In the U.S.A., as Professor D. W. Brogan has pointed out,[2] social stratification is important, but its delimitations and the forces producing these differ considerably from those known in England. He writes:

> It is only an apparent contradiction in terms to assert that the fundamental democratic and egalitarian character of American life is demonstrated by the ingenuity and persistence shown in inventing marks of differences and symbols

[1] Amplified from the notes of a lecture given in the John Rylands Library on the 12th of November, 1941.

[2] *U.S.A., An Outline of the Country, its People and Institutions*, 1941, Oxford University Press, pp. 116-123.

of superiority. In a truly class-conscious and caste-dominated society, the marks of differences are universally recognized even if resented. In America they must be stressed, or they might easily be forgotten, and they must be added to, as the old standards of distinction cease to serve their purpose. Apart from the simple economic criterion of conspicuous display, there are no generally accepted marks of social differences in America. And modern salesmanship makes clothes, cars, and personal adornment far more alike than was possible in the old days of belated styles and the Model T Ford. It is worth noting that the main stress of American class distinction is put on "exclusiveness." In a society without formal public recognition of differences in rank, with a poor and diminishing stock of natural reverence for hereditary eminence, and with a constant rise to the top of the economic system of new men amply provided with the only substitute for hereditary eminence, wealth, it becomes extremely difficult to make "society" anything but the spare-time activities of the rich. It is characteristic that it is in cities whose days of economic advance are over, in Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, that it has proved easiest to keep out the new-comers.

In some parts of England the relation between social and economic status is complex. A poor country vicar often visits rich neighbours, but he does not 'mix with', as distinct from visiting parochially, many parishioners whose incomes may equal his own. In the intellectual professions, especially in large towns with literary and musical coteries, social status may be variable almost at will. Yet nowadays wealth is the chief distinguishing factor of the English ruling classes, since few impoverished aristocrats can live entirely on credit.

In this country, economic status is easy to guess at. Though to indicate it overtly, while referring to anyone by name, is 'not done', euphemisms—'comfortably off', 'in reduced circumstances'—hint with fair accuracy at financial position. Nevertheless, widespread severe taboos are imposed upon detailed consideration of social status (especially of persons living in any but the 'top' and 'bottom' layers of society), and of speaking and clothing; the chief signs of class. These prohibitions are overt in upper and middle-class society, where 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' are seldom referred to as such, except by old people. Moreover, at a less conscious level, any attempt to describe or record the outstanding characteristics of gentlemen and ladies would be resented and resisted. As a Continental sociologist put it, there has been little field-work among

the English upper classes. Similar taboos probably exist in the minds of many professional thinkers who consider themselves immune to such foolishness.

This unanalysed acceptance of social stratum ('knowing one's place') partly explains the sociologist's and psychologist's neglect to consider social stratification, clothing and speaking. No British psychologist, except Dr. R. H. Thouless, who has made a promising start with social stratification,[1] has thought these subjects worthy of detailed treatment in a textbook. English social psychology is, on the whole, an account by middle-class writers of middle-class behaviour.

Psychologists ought to regard social stratification objectively, as a geologist sees layers in a cliff-face, unprejudiced about the desirability of their relative positions; even of their existence. The analogy is not far-fetched. An artist's painting of a stratified cliff might omit, widen, or narrow some layers, and transpose others, as some describers of English society are tempted to do. In society, too, the boundaries between layers may be blurred, oblique or curved.

Dr. Thouless describes significant aspects of social stratification. Among them are the social obligations of a group, summed up in its code of manners. Salutations at meeting and parting are a good example of differences in procedure in various strata of our own society. A code of manners facilitates social intercourse and the adoption of the attitude of primitive comradeship within the group. It also increases (and this is important for our present subject) the separateness of groups from others. Dr. Thouless follows the current usage in speaking of 'superior' and 'inferior' classes, but thoughtfully adds

> The terms "superior" and "inferior" social classes will be used frequently. It is necessary to make clear that these terms are used in a severely technical sense to mean only superiority and inferiority in the scale of social stratification. Stratification is a fact of social organisation which we can recognise by various marks, perhaps most easily by noticing that the member of a superior social class gives orders to one of inferior social class while the other obeys them, and that there is a social obligation on the member of the inferior social class to use gestures or methods of address indicating respect which the other is not under

[1] *General and Social Psychology*, 1932, London, University Tutorial Press, pp. 333-345.

the same obligation to reciprocate. Many of the differences are external signs of a relatively intangible but very real difference in social prestige attached to different classes. The use of the term " superior " in this connection does not imply that the member of a socially superior class is superior in intelligence, social usefulness, or in any other respect except that of occupying a higher position in a stratified social system.

Manners, as he points out, may be reciprocal or non-reciprocal :

They may also serve to mark the relationship of superior and inferior in different social strata. Between equals the social obligations of manners are reciprocal—an obligation of behaviour or speech of A towards B is equally an obligation of B towards A. Other social obligations, however, are non-reciprocal. A is required to adopt a certain form of behaviour or speech towards B who is socially superior, although this obligation does not exist or exists in a different form from B to A.

Perhaps one of the most important and least often mentioned aspects of English social stratification is the inferiority of the seller in the buyer-seller relationship. This principle determines the line drawn between those who are " in trade ", and the professional classes, lawyers, accountants, etc.

I will now try to summarise current conflicting opinions about our present and future social stratification. My aim is to show not only that the practical issues are of prime importance for our future welfare, for that is obvious to thoughtful people, but that where these questions are not economic they are psychological. I will then discuss psychological aspects of the general problem, hoping that it may help those who wish, while drastically changing our social system, to retain its useful features.

Here social psychology verges upon economics : many differences between English social classes are economically conditioned. Not all people in the lowest and lower-middle ranges of the economic scale, however, if they became wealthy, would choose to adopt all the customs and conventions common among the rich. Some of these usages would seem foolish, insincere, irksome or wicked to the newly-rich, who would have brought along their own prejudices, many of them also irrational.

The reader may reasonably assume that at the date of writing (March, 1942) English social stratification is not what it was in

1939, and that it will change considerably when peace comes. This has been kept in mind, but as there are few data about social changes during the war little time can be spent upon them here. It is, however, important to record that, as in Disraeli's time, there are still two Englands. To-day they may perhaps be symbolised by the one of Miss Alice Duer Miller's *The White Cliffs*,[1] and the other, explicitly distinguished from it by Mr. J. B. Priestley, in *Out of the People*[2] and *English Journey*. He contrasts, as pictures and as social patterns, the South and the North, the counties with leisured beauty and those with the crowded, noisy, dirty, ugly but useful towns. Though people often try to silence any mention of the corresponding social differences or even pretend that they do not exist, they are immediately observed and commented upon by visitors from abroad, especially from the Dominions or the U.S.A. Acute awareness of these differences is still evident in the questions asked of candidates for commissions in some of our fighting services.

From many directions we hear that after the war there will be great changes in the English social classes. In one sense this is a platitude. All modern wars cause social change; this is what they are fought for. In another sense, the statement is more interesting. It usually implies that the differences of social stratification will be fewer, and the lines of demarcation less clear. This prophecy is received by many with a sigh for the pre-war state, which they regarded as historically interesting, beautiful, romantic, desirable. Even if they personally played no actual part in the grand world, they saw it as a fairy-land, an escape-country, or a goal, if not for themselves, for their children or grandchildren. At the beginning of this war, some urged that it should be fought for the 'English way of life', describing it in a manner which might be recognised by their friends, if not by the majority of the English. Since then, many have pointed out that no national way of life ever completely survives a great war; that when peace is declared, relatively few could wish our social structure to be restored; cracks, moss, mildew and all, and the advocates of the *status quo* have been almost silent. We may, however, distinguish between writers

[1] 1941, London, Methuen.

[2] 1941, London, Heinemann.

who feel certain that great social changes, not named precisely, are inevitable, and those who suggest definite innovations.

Mr. Priestley opposes Walt Whitman's concept of "the people" to that of "masters" and "masses". We are not, or ought not to be, conducting the war as members of different classes, but as people. "The people can . . . be praised for their conduct so far in the war. . . . On the whole, the classes as such have behaved rather badly, being more concerned about their own particular rights and privileges than about the extent and force of our war effort. On the other hand, it is the people and not the classes who have so magnificently manned our air-raid services." The people, he insists

> are not the masses. These are two different conceptions. Indeed, they are opposed. One rejects the other. When I say to myself "the people", I have a confused but lively vision of a hundred faces and a hundred voices, as if a picture by old Breughel had suddenly come to life. In short, I think of persons. But when I say to myself "the masses", I see at once a grey, featureless horde, and hear nothing but a muttering and murmuring. I do not think of persons. The masses are not real human beings. They have been de-humanised. The supreme mystery does not flower in them as it does in us, who always feel ourselves separated from them. They are rough bundles of instincts and appetites. They are units of man-power. After using their muscles and collecting their pennies, you can consider and gratify their immediate needs; you cannot love them. They are not real persons.
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> We have been searching for years now for that division of the modern world that cuts the deepest. Once it was socialism against capitalism; then it was fascism against communism. Lately it has been totalitarianism against democracy. A welcome change from these is the division between those who think in terms of the masses and those who think in terms of the people. I believe it cuts very deep indeed.

Some of these arguments may seem irrelevant to one who, while actively rejecting the concept of masters and masses, firmly believes (both pragmatically and theoretically) in the 'classes'. He would state, as postulates not axioms, that the class-division still exists here, that on the whole it has worked fairly well and that it is a social psychologist's business, by noting, describing and explaining the facts, to help the classes to co-operate without friction and jealousy. This may be the point of view of Miss Margery Allingham, author of *The Oaken*

*Heart*,[1] describing how an Essex village ("Auburn") took the first years of this war. She regards the impulse to rise socially as justifiable and useful.

Social stratification, however, is not the result of forces as inevitable as those which divide into neat layers a mixture of liquids of different density. It is less easy to map in a large industrial town than in Auburn. Mr. Priestley asserts that even before the war the division into classes had lost nearly all political and economic (though not purely social) reality, that nowadays a good deal of it is merely an ornamental cover, bearing much the same relation to the basic realities of modern life that fancy dress does to ordinary clothes. As evidence, he cites the selling of titles in exchange for contributions to the funds of a political party, and Miss Barbara Wootton's investigation (quoted in detail on pp. 360-363 of the present lecture) which concludes that to-day the fundamental difference between classes is one of wealth. He claims that the real aristocratic system vanished years ago, and what we have had since is a plutocratic system pretending to be aristocratic. It allows the strongly acquisitive man not only to grab money and power, but to escape much criticism by leaving the district where he made his wealth. He appears in the South as an old English gentleman, pleading for "our good old English ways". Going farther than this, we can point out that nowadays the rich man may not even be promoted into the ruling class. He and his female relations may merely become passive members of inner rings of big business and high finance, whose leaders, introspecting hastily at 11.05 hours on September 3, 1939, discovered an intense hatred of Nazi ideals.

Since Mr. Priestley's views concern the town-bred money-maker who finds protective coloration amongst country people, we are left wondering about his opinions of them. They are apt to be mute, because talking is usually not their job, still less writing. To a social psychologist looking for trustworthy information, this is disappointing, for in different parts of England social stratification might present either the same pattern with varying emphasis upon certain parts (the relative

[1] 1941, London, Michael Joseph.

widths of the stripes, so to speak, may change) or a different pattern. The economic and political details are obtainable; indeed, many are known. But for the psychological facts we depend at present upon our individual experiences, casual communications and the selective insight of novelists and playwrights. Yet questions about social stratification could be as useful as those which served so well in Middletown,[1] Marienthal,[2] and Metrop.[3] Few English people are really unaware of their class, though on some occasions they may act as if they are 'the people' and class is irrelevant.

In the present scarcity of factual information it is natural that most writings about English classes to-day should be offensive or defensive, though authors express themselves urbanely. Consequently, though I warmly appreciate the sincerity of Miss Allingham's apologia for the Essex upper classes, I cannot decide how far it is defensive. It expounds the standpoint of her class, which she does not delimit minutely. She sportingly disdains to make debating points. The book is hard to 'place'. It is not a novel. The author wrote it so that some American friends "could gather exactly what life has been like down here for us ordinary country people during the War". . . . "I have done my utmost best, using whatever art I possess, to put down as vividly as possible what I myself believe on soul and conscience to be true . . . thinking of nothing but telling the truth as I see it here."

Often in the process of recording Auburn's behaviour during the war, opinions about class distinctions appear, though usually without supporting argument. I mention them as examples (certain to be matched by opposed views equally airy) of assumptions which a social psychologist regards as challenges to verification rather than as foundations of belief.

In Auburn, among middle-aged and younger folk, "the class question is pretty well settled. You can still touch your

[1] R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown* 1929, London, Constable, also *Middletown Revisited.*

[2] M. Lazarsfeld-Tahoda and H. Zeisl, *Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal,* 1933, Leipzig, Hirzel.

[3] C. Madge and Tom Harrisson, *Britain by Mass-Observation,* 1939, London, Penguin Books, Limited.

hat to Money or Blood; but if so, Money must subsequently breed money in your pocket and Blood must give you service, or you are making an ass of yourself." But an Englishman can make an ass of himself grudgingly, bitterly, holding his tongue. And is the following true, even in its most general interpretation, of England—" In a country village there is very little 'class'; only 'sort'. People go by nature, not by blood or possessions "?

If such remarks were often made to Jane, Miss Allingham's co-worker in receiving evacuees, they may well have caused Jane to regard the author as " a sort of female Blimp ". Jane, " Jewish and of Russian extraction ", with " a miraculous knowledge of the vast and complicated social welfare system of our blessed and astonishing country ", may be forgiven for thinking that " most of these schemes and grants and aids and reliefs had been fought for by people like Jane in the teeth of people like me ". Even Mr. Lloyd George, Christian and of ancient British extraction, might take this view. The country upper classes, however, are now familiar with the victims of the slums of London, Liverpool and Manchester. Miss Allingham records that now the war has been going on for some time, " sophisticated drivel, remarks in utter tastelessness, folk pretending they do not love their husbands or wives, or that their children are mentally defective nuisances, are out of fashion ". But they were, too, from 1915 to 1918.

Miss Allingham is not a whole-hearted admirer of any one class. Because of this, I regret that my present interest compels me to appear ungracious in my selection of excerpts, and I hope that many will read this unique book. From it I summarise one more statement, true of many an Englishman. When he 'gets on', he hardly ever stays a rich member of the proletariat, but submits himself and his family to the discomforts of a way of life which he thinks is better and grander than his old one. He wants to be equal to what he thinks, rightly or wrongly, to be the best. He expects the upper classes to keep the code of behaviour, possessions and manners *up*, so that his ascent may be the higher. He knows well that the journey may take a generation or two, for how many of our best families are very old? We are reminded that some goals exert an enormous pull

upon the social climber, though we are not told what they are. Are they always the same? Power, a hope of extinction of inferiority-complexes, of more intellectual pleasures and gentler ways of life for children and grandchildren? And what, in this context, is the meaning of gentle? To this question we will return.

Another well-known woman writer evaluates the pulling power of some peaks above the social climber's head. Miss Wootton writes from the standpoint of an economist rather than of the social psychologist, yet *End Social Inequality, A Programme for Ordinary People*,[1] illustrates the common fields of these two studies. The opening pages might have been written by a social psychologist (new style). She points out that modern English class differences are, in one sense, very pronounced, while in another they are not. In the first sense, they prevent many people from doing things which it is open to others to do, and cause those who choose to behave as if ours was a classless society, to appear highly eccentric or even ridiculous. Yet to avoid the accusation of bad taste one must adapt oneself to the caste system while pretending that it does not exist.

English class-privilege consists of two distinct but related systems. The first she calls opportunity-class; the second social (or snob[2]) class. They must be discussed separately, because, although their foundations have much in common, one might survive even if the other were abolished.

Opportunity-class is simply an unequal distribution of opportunity. There is nothing particularly subtle or evasive about it: at this stage its study is probably a matter for economists and for those medical practitioners sensitive to political problems, as she shows by her first example; the opportunity to go on living in this world, once you have been born. Here we meet our first great inequality. In *Poverty and Population*, Mr. Titmuss contrasted the death-rates prevailing in the Home Counties (excluding London) with those in Wales and in a largely

[1] 1941, London, Kegan Paul.

[2] I have tried and failed to find a synonym, or even a near-synonym which satisfies those who sincerely believe that the English class-system is a good thing.

industrial area, comprising Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Yorkshire, Cheshire and Lancashire. The results showed that if deaths in these latter districts (age for age) could be brought down to the level prevailing in the Home Counties, 53,951 people who actually did die in a single year (1936) would not have done so. This unnecessary loss of life actually exceeds the rate of recorded air-raid casualties during the period of intensive bombing between September, 1940, and February, 1941. She cites as further examples of opportunity-class influence, the choosing from an arbitrarily restricted group of the population of persons to hold positions of power and responsibility and to enjoy skilled and interesting jobs.

Snob-class is the system which confers on certain groups of people a *general* (not functional) social prestige. It precludes normal social intercourse between those who are high up and those who are low down in this scale of esteem. Snob-class is not the individual distinction, ' glamour ' or halo which may surround a film star, boxing champion, explorer, scientist or even philosopher ; spilling over, so to speak, from the circle of experience or performance in which they have proved their excellence. Nor is it the prestige which properly accompanies the superior authority exercised by people who occupy positions of power : the respect paid, for instance, to the policeman who controls traffic at a busy crossing. For this prestige vanishes almost completely when the functionary is off duty—especially when in mufti. In contrast, snob-class privilege gives prestige which is generalised and irrelevant to personal merits and accomplishments. Furthermore it extends to the family of the person enjoying it. Such a family often contains members whose claims to esteem, reckoned on any other scale, would be dim to vanishing-point.

Snob-class, like opportunity-class, is based mainly upon titles, money and education. But its stratification contains some subtleties of its own, e.g. the ownership of landed estates carries a peculiar distinction and the performance of manual work a corresponding stigma.

To sum up, this two-class division in English society means that public life is administered by people who, quite literally,

know next to nothing at first hand about the life of the public, are not even conscious of their own ignorance, and tacitly assume that they are typical English men and women. This is not class-consciousness, but class-*un*consciousness.

Let us return to consider, as objectively as possible, some of the psychological problems of social stratification.

English social strata have manifest visible and audible signs. To a blind man there are also tactual signs, for example, the soft hands of the leisured. To people who use their noses, class may have olfactory divisions. The use of perfumes—which, too, are socially stratified—suggest that people might be classed as naturally or artificially odorous and unnaturally inodorous.

We will confine ourselves here to the visible and audible signs. The latter are the more important; upper-class speech being much more difficult to acquire than upper-class clothes. In the following discussion there is no suggestion that one way of speaking is better, more beautiful or more effective than another, though most people have strong prejudices about this subject, as the B.B.C. knows to its sorrow, or, perhaps, amusement.

Social differences are shown by the choice of words and phrases. Each class uses characteristic terms of approval, disapproval, intimacy, endearment, enthusiasm and boredom, and each ignores or ridicules the choice of others. Euphemisms, too, are class-labels. Perhaps most of these are used by the middle (especially the lower-middle) class, for reasons obvious in a society permitting vertical movement. Of the phrases which especially indicate social strata the emollient group are the most striking. A good diplomat has many in stock, and knows when to produce the right one. They are used to begin, interrupt or end a conversation, to refuse or decline a request, suggestion or invitation; to correct a misstatement, to oppose a proposition without rancour, to adduce incontrovertible if unwelcome evidence, to accost a stranger, encourage a shy person or reprove a backslider. They are learnt after birth, and are not, as a few appear to believe, congenital.

Some readers, interpreting this as an oblique reference to

a famous ' North-South ' difference, may assert that the Southerner uses many lubricating phrases which the Northerner would scorn to employ even if he knew them (which he often does); that they are a sign of insincerity, if not of downright craftiness. Many assertions about North and South ' accent ' imply that one is sincerer than the other. Yet ' The North ' is a big place. It includes Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumbria and the Lake District. In all these regions a forthrightness of speech is heard, but dwellers in the North easily identify different varieties and degrees of it. Independent straightforwardness differs, for example, from truculence. And it is fair to record that in the last fifty years when a Northerner became wealthy he often sent his children to schools south of the Trent. These pupils, now grown up, form a powerful section of the middle-aged ' upper-class ' in the North. They frequently use emollient phrases, though their accents still may be (they usually are not) pure ' North-country '. This is an example of the difficulty of separating ' geographical ' from ' social ' dialects, since the public schools spread the latter all over England.

About phrases which mark off social classes I will say little, referring the reader to Professor A. Lloyd James's *The Broadcast Word*[1] and our *Spoken Language*,[2] and to my own *Voice and Personality*.[3] Most phoneticians are more interested in the geographical and historical differences of spoken sound than in the social stratification of language, though Mr. George Bernard Shaw has zestfully attacked this theme in *Pygmalion* and the preface to it. He has reopened the subject in an introduction to Professor Richard Albert Wilson's *The Miraculous Birth of Language*.[4]

One social group may inaccurately attribute ' bad ' speech to another. American journalists, when they ' quote ' English working-class speech, are apt to write it without aspirates, yet in many parts of industrial England, the ' h ' is seldom dropped. With such warnings in mind, it may be said that difference in vowel-pronunciation is an important mark of social class. The Cockney modifies all the English vowels, usually transforming

[1] London, Allen and Unwin.
[2] Nelson.
[3] London, Chapman and Hall.
[4] London, 1941, Guild Books (Dent).

them into diphthongs. Cockney radio-impersonations represent various types—even different generations—of this 'district-dialect'. It is interesting that modern upper-class fashions in pronunciation frequently approach, though without quite touching, the Cockney language; e.g. 'Go home', pronounced by a modern actor, may be almost indistinguishable from a coster's speech. Both, Mr. Shaw remarks, may call the sun the san and a rose a rah-ooz. But it is important to note that the Cockney pronunciation of 'Bill', 'milk', 'field' and 'towel' has not been adopted by fashionable English people.

Of speaking, considered as a means of social communication, 'speech-melody' is perhaps the subtlest characteristic. By varying it, emotional relationships are established with others who understand our language. This proviso must be remembered. Mr. Priestley recently broadcast a short play. It contained only meaningless letters of the alphabet: the melody on which they were 'sung' carried their significance. Since intimacy or 'distance', friendliness or enmity, interest or boredom, command or prayer, deference or disrespect are expressed by speech-melody, it is not surprising that social differences are emphasised by the way in which words go 'up and down'. This is well known to self-constituted judges of good manners, especially those who, on the basis of a brief interview, recommend candidates for posts.

The auditory 'aspect' of speech is perhaps more important than the visual accompaniments, facial expression, gesture and posture. Possibly the comparative absence of facial expression and gesture from the speech-behaviour of the English 'ruling classes' is a sign of social stratification [1] observed particularly in officers in the fighting services and in some school prefects. Within the different geographical dialects of England there are social layers. Lancashire provides many different ways of speaking. Some of those reflect social gradations. The Londoners in the first act of *Pygmalion* all speak differently. Until it is widely recognised that many variations are social

[1] Originally suggested by Miss Dorothy M. Richardson in *Pilgrimage*, London, Constable, and discussed in the author's *The Psychology of Conversation*, 1940, London, Nelson.

rather than geographical some of the chief causes of English social differentiation will be overlooked.

Concerning clothes, in peace-time, as Professor J. C. Flugel has shown,[1] there are two continuous opposed waves of influence, towards and away from standardisation. Some expensive clothes are copied and then mass-produced ; when this happens, further designs, resembling these in shape or shade, yet clearly distinguishable from the popular model, are produced in limited quantities by 'exclusive' firms. While the rich easily buy fashionable, comfortable clothes, at present the poor must choose between style and comfort.[2] Perhaps some inexpensive clothes for men are shaped to look cheap. The same firm may sell both these and dearer suits. This seems a deliberate attempt, encouraged by public support, to perpetuate class-difference. Similarly, speakers who in standard English exhort others to adhere to their dialects may not be keen egalitarians.

The psychology of eating and drinking (what is eaten, how, when, where, and with whom) is tangled up with social differences. Some of these immediately become clear to those who now face the problems of communal feeding. Certain hotels, restaurants and public-houses are recognised as the resorts of different classes. This fact is reflected in their prices, but not simply, as a visit to London before the war would have shown. A large hotel may contain restaurants, and a public-house bars, socially graded.

Table manners are admitted class-signs ; a fact which evacuation in war-time underlined. Foreign observers have noted the sociological importance of our tea-shops and Corner Houses, offering to thousands opportunities to eat in public which formerly did not exist for them—since many would never willingly enter a public-house and could not afford the nineteenth-century hotel or restaurant.

Differences in social status arising from the possession of property have been often described by novelists : Galsworthy succeeded so well in presenting the Englishman as a Man of

[1] *The Psychology of Clothes*, London, Hogarth Press.

[2] Cf. *Change No. 1* (Bulletin of the Advertising Service Guild. London, 1941, pp. 44-47).

Property that many Continental readers firmly believed the Forsytes to be a common English type. To some extent they were; for centuries English law and politics have been very kind to the landowner, and offences against property are still severely punished. This fact complicates the treatment of juvenile delinquency, especially in war-time.[1]

The type of house in which a person lives, its locality—in London, and presumably elsewhere, long streets may have a 'right' and 'wrong' end—its furnishings and pictures, and its garden, if any, give him social standing. So does the possession of an automobile (the make and date often being taken into account), radio, and a telephone. At least one social survey has been wrecked because the people canvassed were telephone-renters, whose names were thus easily obtainable, but who, because of this fact, were all above a certain income-line.

No Englishman needs reminding that in the matter of education there are two Englands. The social and economic differences between our types of educational 'facilities' appear to be the wonder of the world. At present they are being discussed so widely that an article of this length would be required even to summarise the conflicting arguments.[2] Without taking sides in this controversy, it may be remarked that though the public schools have virtues which an ideal system of education could well retain, to a democrat their most undesirable feature is the deliberate segregation of their pupils, during their formative years, from the rest of the community. It is possible for an English boy at the age of eight to go to a residential preparatory school, then to a public school, afterwards to a university; and on graduation to join the staff of another (or the same) public school; to live to a ripe old age, having taught thousands of boys, yet never having been in the outside world except for holidays. Even those will probably have been spent among people of his own class. Of all the factors which, during the

[1] Cf. K. Mannheim, "Some Reflections on Crime in War-Time," *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1942; E. C. Gates and T. H. Pear, "An Inquiry into Juvenile Delinquency," *Social Welfare*, July, 1941, pp. 190-209. (Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service.)

[2] Cf. L. B. Pekin, *The Public School;* T. C. Worsley, *Barbarians and Philistines, Democracy and the Public Schools*, London, Robert Hale.

last half-century, have perpetuated and increased social stratification, the public schools are in the front rank.

The type of religion which the Englishman professes often reflects his social standing. Stratification is very obvious in the Church of England. Distinctions between 'high' and 'low' church, though usually assumed to refer to differences of preference for ritual, are often social. In many parts of England there is still a social difference between 'church' and 'chapel'. The social status of English Roman Catholics in general is undefined, but amongst themselves they are not unstratified.

In this space, only the general directions of arguments put forward to-day to justify or to condemn social stratification can be indicated. The case for it is supported by asserting that if, for centuries, there is freedom for selective mating (obviously the poor, lacking chances to travel, and to meet many different people, have less freedom), the offspring are likely on the whole to be healthier, stronger, more beautiful and more intelligent. A leisured class will encourage and defend culture, appreciating its advantages. It is urged that if one 'knows one's station', with its privileges and corresponding duties, this promotes easy working of the social scheme. A hereditary aristocracy, it is argued, tends towards tolerance (arising from knowledge that individual differences are great), 'intuitive' leadership, and a sentiment of responsibility for others, developed by generations of feudalism. *Noblesse oblige*. The force of these arguments, however, assuming their validity, depends upon the privileged stratum retaining its characteristics. During the last century the social layers from which our ruling class is drawn have not remained constant.

Many have criticised the above claims, or have accepted some of them, commenting that such assertions could be made of any privileged class, and that, to use an Irishism, everyone ought to be privileged, if this means to have opportunities for leisure, travel, training in social responsibility, and where desirable, leadership. In *The Dangers of being a Gentleman* [1]

[1] London, Allen and Unwin. See also E. Wingfield-Stratford, *The Making of a Gentleman*.

Professor Harold J. Laski describes the ideal of gentlemanliness. It may be summarised here.

A gentleman is, rather than does. He is interested in nothing in a professional way. He is allowed to cultivate hobbies, even eccentricities, but must not practise a vocation. He must know how to ride and shoot and cast a fly. He should have relatives in the army and navy and at least one connection in the diplomatic service. But there are weaknesses in the English gentleman's ability to rule us to-day. He usually knows nothing of political economy and less about how foreign countries are governed. He does not respect learning and prefers ' sport '. The problem set for society is not the virtues of the type so much as its adequacy for its function, and here grave difficulties arise. He refuses to consider sufficiently the wants of the customer, who must buy, not the thing he desires but the thing the English gentleman wants to sell. He attends inadequately to technological development. Disbelieving in the necessity of large-scale production in the modern world, he is passionately devoted to excessive secrecy, both in finance and method of production. He has an incurable and widespread nepotism in appointment, discounting ability and relying upon a mystic entity called ' character ', which means, in a gentleman's mouth, the qualities he traditionally possesses himself. His lack of imagination and the narrowness of his social loyalties have ranged against him one of the fundamental estates of the realm. He is incapable of that imaginative realism which admits that this is a new world to which he must adjust himself and his institutions, that every privilege he formerly took as of right he can now attain only by offering proof that it is directly relevant to social welfare.

In short, ' breeding ' has often worked well, but for types of social pattern which no longer exist. Sometimes, however, it worked badly even for them.

But all classes, not one alone, ought to have leisure, in which culture can be attained. Tolerance—and intolerance—are not the prerogatives of any one class. Both these characteristics can be acquired, especially when taught deliberately by example and precept. During the last fifty years the upper classes have often failed to shoulder responsibility. Finally, culture is

acquired, not innate. The baby, even if born in the purple, is lamentably uncultured.

The case against privilege has been argued by Professor Lancelot Hogben in *Race and Prejudice* [1] and by Miss Barbara Wootton in *End Social Inequality*.

The views about English social stratification held by readers of newspapers and novels (it is from these sources, as well as from parental teaching and example and the social environment in school, work, pastimes and sports that the average person's opinions come) may truly represent certain facts but not others. It needs no deep insight to see that in England yachting is an upper-class pastime while pigeon-flying is not; that Rugby football is socially in 'higher' esteem than the Association code. Other games may rise and fall rapidly. Until recent times, darts was a lower-class game. It was embraced by the upper classes when the Queen, visiting a welfare centre at Slough, happened to take up a dart and throw it at a target. This event, immediately followed by the 'pushing' of darts by the B.B.C. who, unopposed by brewers, sedulously linked up the idea of the game with that of public-houses, made darts popular with all classes.

Some aspects of our social structure, however, may have changed imperceptibly in the last few decades. Several of these were studied in 1939 and 1940 by Miss Barbara Wootton [2] and an advanced tutorial class, of which she was the teacher. Their object was to form

as realistic a picture as possible of the class structure of our society, and to test against this the validity of opinions commonly held about the meaning and relationship of classes. In particular to discover what, if any, are the realities that correspond to-day to the terms 'Working Class' and 'Ruling Class'.

Their methods are fully described in the article, to which the reader must be referred.

They distinguish three senses in which the term 'class' is commonly (if unthinkingly) used:

(1) A group of people who have a 'common economic interest', i.e. whose common economic interests outweigh their economic conflicts.

[1] London.

[2] "Some Aspects of the Social Structure of England and Wales", *Adult Education*, xiii, December, 1940, pp. 97-116.

(2) A social group, i.e. a group of people who mingle in ordinary social intercourse and are set in a hierarchy whose order is generally recognised, so that they are debarred by convention from so mingling with groups above or below them in the social scale.

They divided 'Economic Class' into

(1) Groups with a subjective economic interest only, who imagine they are economically united, but in fact are not.

(2) Groups with an objective economic interest only, a real bond of which they are unconscious.

(3) Groups with an objective and subjective interest.

Social Class they defined as

groups of people who mingle with each other in normal social intercourse (e.g. entertain each other in their homes) without restraint but who are conventionally debarred from so mingling with other groups who are socially inferior or superior according to a generally recognized hierarchy. This hierarchy is a scale of prestige; prestige which if related to the individual's function in society (occupation) extends beyond the function both during non-exercise of the function and into retirement. (For example, a factory manager is accustomed to be called 'Sir' by his workmen not only in the shop but at the sports club and the bar parlour.) The prestige of an individual extends normally to his family and dependants.

After considerable examination and discussion, they decided that the quantitative prestige-differences which are the basis of social stratification in Great Britain to-day depend on wealth, birth, education and occupation. Weighing these four sources of prestige against each other, they formed the opinion that the greatest of these is wealth, and adduce evidence for this. They continue

If the foregoing were only what we believed to be the nature of the social hierarchy in Great Britain it could reasonably be dismissed as pure conjecture. It coincides, however, with what we identified as socially important in our study of particular individuals.

They examined certain characteristics of the people who rule Britain, i.e. those who possess political and administrative power. Concerning the alleged 'ruling class' their conclusions were

(1) Family, Education, Occupation and Recreations of men in ruling positions are by no means typical of an average group of the population.

(2) The following attributes appear in much higher frequency amongst these rulers than amongst other people:

*Family*—Titled and Professional.
*Education*—Public and Grammar School, University education.
*Occupation*—None or Professional.
*Clubs*—Carlton and Brooke's.
*Recreations*—Shooting and Golf.

These attributes can be called ruling-class attributes, because people who possess them have a more than average chance of acquiring ruling power.

(3) The ruling class is primarily a social group, maintaining its exclusiveness and unity primarily by the possession of wealth, with the other characteristics studied playing only a secondary part.

(4) The possession of wealth and the wish to keep it is the one objective economic interest which outweighs the many economic conflicts found in the ruling class. There is, therefore, a clear objective basis for political rather than for industrial unity.

(5) The ruling class is not so much a class of employers set against all employees, as it is a class of rich people set against poor.

(6) A large percentage of those people who attain ruling power without coming from the ruling class are Trade Union leaders.

(7) People who are not ruling class are seldom found in any but *elected* positions of power.

(8) As long as attendance at expensive schools and universities is the training needed for administrative power, there will still be a ruling class, for poor people will be excluded from the necessary training.

(9) As long as the people who rule are paid a salary which is very much higher than the average salary, their social habits will cut them off from the average man.

## Concerning the working classes they concluded

(1) If there is a working class, there is no common agreement on its definition.

(2) None of the definitions offered pointed to a common objective economic interest.

(3) Many workers might feel a common interest in that they all worked, or were important to society, or that their work was misapplied.

(4) The significant class struggle is not between workers and employers, or between those who work and those who do not. (The number of idle rich is very small.) [1]

(5) Within the widest definition of working class there are distinct social groups. These correspond to some extent with a subjective economic interest. Social stratification overrides economic unity.

[1] The number of "idle rich male" persons "who can work and do not do so" (given on p. 112) is said to be "very small—well under a million". Considering the population of Great Britain, this figure does not seem to me very small.

(6) The general belief in the existence of a working class is due to the exclusion of certain groups from the ruling class.

(7) The factors making for the exclusion are poverty, lowly birth, humble occupation and lack of education.

(8) The most important factor in class exclusion and class unity is poverty, not the fact of being a worker.

(9) The belief in the existence of a working class is justified, but that class would better be called the poor.

During the last ten years many events have given us chances to note the effects of social stratification. Evacuation of children and mothers from dangerous to safe areas offered one of these opportunities, and many publications about the impact of class upon class have already appeared.[1] Everywhere one fact emerges ; difficulties in adjustment to strange social situations caused by the manners and customs of their hosts were very much less for the younger children. Some will regard this as a blinding glimpse of the obvious : yet it should be recorded and emphasised because if we wish to decrease class consciousness it shows one easy way to begin. Day nurseries, nursery schools and nursery classes offer a chance of diminishing social ' distance '. It would also be helpful to discover the ages and conditions which make awareness of class-difference most intense.

One might add that the difficulties of evacuee-children in meeting novel social demands were not always due to class-difference. In one report, kindly sent me by the headmaster of a city school whose pupils went to a seaside town (names are omitted for obvious reasons), the boys were all ' lower middle-class '. There were few social distinctions between them. The hosts appeared to be of a class similar to that of the pupils, yet real difficulties arose, due to local usages and preferences or to age disparity between hosts and guests.

The evacuation reports seldom analyse the subjects of disagreement and friction, though many are named and described. They may be divided into avoidable and unavoidable—e.g.

[1] Cf. Susan S. Isaacs (ed. by), *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey*, 1941, London, Methuen ; Gertrud Wagner, *Our Wartime Guests*, 1940, Liverpool University Press and Hodder and Stoughton ; Margery Allingham, *The Oaken Heart*.

a person who has regarded solitude in a bedroom, or a quiet place in which to read and write, as necessities, may, if he entertains evacuees, never get used to the continual company of unchosen guests. Dislike for close contact with people less clean than oneself may seem just as deep-rooted, yet many lose or dissemble it in army or camp, and during the 1940-41 winter, shelter-life rapidly decreased the cleanliness of thousands, not all of whom regarded this as an unmitigated evil. There are class prejudices due to unreasoned dislikes, traceable to early conditioning, or to personal complexes. People who have overcome this weakness may still wince at a few varieties of transatlantic speech, though tolerating some of its ingredients (e.g. the hard ' r ') in West-Country dialect. To some ears, Aberdonian ' pure ' English sounds mincing and finicky. Some are affronted by all ' upper-class ' accents ; this attitude may arise from ambivalent inferiority-complexes. Many travelled English, readily ignoring ' foreigners' ' unusual methods of handling knife and fork, are disdainful of them in fellow-countrymen of a lower social class. Others, gratified when an American says he is pleased to meet them, are amused at an Englishman's use of this phrase. The employment of circumlocutions and of long or ' elegant ' words indicates class, and many English are contemptuous towards compatriots who employ unnecessary or ' wrong ' ones, but not towards English-speaking foreigners who do so.

Social psychologists have seldom or never studied differences between English codes of manners. Books of etiquette exist, codifying some manners of the upper classes, implying that they set the standard for everyone. Yet these books ' date ', and after the war the best of them may have to be rewritten. Questions to which a standard guide to manners might give out-of-date answers concern the use of alcoholic drinks, tobacco and cosmetics (especially regarding time and place), and the modes of address and behaviour of one sex to the other. As I write, letters to the newspapers suggest that an A.T.S. private would resent a reproof less if it came from a man officer than from a woman ; an assertion which starts a complicated train of thought.

Some may believe that there are fundamental, unchangeable principles of civilised behaviour. Though this may be question-begging, since it is difficult to define 'civilised' in a way which would suit everyone, we may assume, in our own culture-pattern at least, certain conventions which most people consider essential. Interest might therefore be taken in some articles concerning the proposed democratisation of the Diplomatic and Civil Services, which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*. In the issue of June 30, 1941, Mr. Thomas Jones discussed some proposed changes in the Foreign Office, and the possibility of recruiting the Diplomatic Corps in ways which would not prejudice a candidate without private means. In his view, there was little hope of getting desirable men from the classes usually termed lower.

In a letter to this newspaper (July 17) Professor Harold J. Laski examined some of Mr. Jones's arguments. One was the value of "'contacts' due to the associations of well-travelled families". Professor Laski replied, "The underlying assumption of this argument is the maintenance of an unequal society in Europe in which only the well-endowed will have the opportunity of foreign travel". Mr. Jones had written, "The grace and ease of cultivated conversation are a lubricating accomplishment normally more often found in the youth of Eton than of Plumstead". But, answered Professor Laski, "Most of the youth of Plumstead do not have the advantages of the youth of Eton. Those of them who, through scholarships, have the advantage of an equivalent education are not, in my 25 years' experience as a university teacher, less capable of the 'grace and ease' of which he speaks. And in general they are more open to new impressions and to the significance of new experience." To Mr. Jones's assertion "There is no presumption in favour of the products of our elementary schools being inherently better qualified for diplomacy than the youth of the great public schools", the reply was made "That is not the question. What disturbs the critics is that the system now in operation should assume that over 60 per cent. of the natural diplomatic ability of this country should, in the last 75 years, have been concentrated in some half-dozen schools. It has

not been thus in the case of other faculties. Is it not possible that diplomatic ability is only so limited because the system has not responded to changes in the structure of European society?"

Passing to the Civil Services, Professor Laski wrote, "The main traditions of the service are hostile to initiative, risk-taking, large-scale experiment. Those, for the most part, who climb up are the men who impress their superiors as 'sound and safe' and likely to conform to the tradition; this is especially true of those who are selected for promotion from the lower grades. In 15 years' experience of the Civil Service Tribunal I have met many men of first-class ability in the executive and clerical classes who have stagnated there. They have not been lifted out of their grades because they do not accept the unstated assumptions which shape the central tradition of the administrative class."

A few years ago few would have regarded such a difference of expert opinion as a matter for psychologists. Social gradations exist; they have made England what she is; why drag them into the limelight? Nowadays, however, it is reasonable to inquire whether the characteristics discussed above can be analysed and their development explained.

In the *Manchester Guardian* of 5th August, 1941, the present writer suggested that the psychological constituents of diplomatic and democratic manners might be examined. Especially important are intonation, speech-melody and choice of words and phrases suited to particular occasions, such as committee meetings or debates. The Englishman's reserve is less mysterious to, and perhaps less respected by, 'foreigners' than it used to be. Ability to converse and discuss do not result from 'instinct' or selective breeding. If certain classes discuss better than others, the reasons ought to be discovered.

Few psychologists, for example, have tried to interpret data obtained by phoneticians. Many of their problems, e.g. prejudices concerning standard English and dialects, are matters for social psychology. To treat them thus, however, offends the taboo already mentioned.

In attempts to support the view that the upper classes are specially fitted for the diplomatic services, it is pointed out that

the diplomat's aim is not mere politeness; that knowing 'who is who' and 'what is what' is more important. This assumes that the social knowledge upon which discrimination may be exercised is the prerogative of one class. Critics assert that occasionally our representatives do not seem to have known who is who, and urge that a diplomat should be intelligent, honest, truthful, friendly and know the relevant facts.

To examine and criticise such assertions is necessary if democratisation of the Diplomatic and Civil Services is to be tackled effectively. It presents clearly many thorny points of English social stratification. Two people, one whose family had been connected with the diplomatic services for generations, the other a fervent democrat, would have to sink many prejudices before they could even begin to discuss the question profitably. To an Englishman this may seem natural, requiring no comment, yet in younger countries comment upon our social layers is free and pungent.[1]

The solution of many problems in social psychology needs more knowledge of the sentiments and ideals which characterise different social strata.[2] Often an author's class can be accurately deduced by examining his postulates. On reading attempts made between 1918 and 1939 to explain war in terms of human experience and behaviour, one seems driven to conclude that most of them were conceived from an upper-class standpoint. Underlying them seems to be the assumption that when war is declared, the author will take—or be holding—a commission, and will lead 'his' men. Few, especially those who 'explain' the stirring up of war in peace-time as due to aggressiveness, ask themselves how much the poorer people know about the nations for whom, after war has broken out, they are exhorted to feel emotions specified by the propagandists.

To conclude, my view, I hope, is clear. In the past, privilege may have exercised good influences in many directions,

[1] R. H. Tawney, *Equality*, 1931, London.

[2] Cf. M. Ginsberg, chapter IX of *Studies in Sonology*, 1932, London, Methuen; C. A. Mace, chapter in *Class Conflict and Sound Stratification* (ed. T. H. Marshall), 1938, London, Leplay House Press; H. A. Mace, *Social Classes in England*, London, Nelson.

but during our lifetime its shortcomings have been increasingly obvious. To-day it seems to be falling into disfavour all over the world. Yet the difference ought to be clearly recognised between lessening privilege and decreasing tolerance of individual differences. I write this, though believing that recent attempts to retain privilege at all costs have been powerful factors in bringing about this ferocious war. If democratisation sets in suddenly and violently, there is a danger that not only the polish of social life but the material upon which during centuries that polish has been achieved, may be destroyed. I would urge the social psychologist to study the more and less desirable social phenomena, both in the upper and the lower classes, to find out how, when the cause was not economic, they have arisen. For gentle manners are not the result of an accident, and it would be a tragedy if we lost them.

A social psychologist who makes this study must expect to be shot at from both sides. Weapons used against him may be not only opposition, but 'good-humoured' ridicule; an effective instrument of attack to-day. Yet standards of humour have been known to change, even in England.

# THE PRIESTLY CODE: THE LEGISLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND GRAF-WELLHAUSEN.[1]

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THE Priestly Code is the name given to one of the four main documents which, according to the literary critics, underlie the Pentateuch. It is predominantly legalistic in character, and critics now generally agree that it is the most recent of the four in point of date. It was indeed the last to be distinguished, and its recognition came only at the end of a long process.

As every Bible student knows, the process of text dissection of the Pentateuch began in the middle of the eighteenth century with the investigations of the French physician Astruc, who recognised two main documents in Genesis distinguished respectively by their use of the names Yahweh and Elohim for God. These documents, later denoted J and E respectively, were, he argued, sources used by Moses. At the beginning of the nineteenth century De Wette drew attention to the marked individuality of the book of Deuteronomy and emphasised that it should be treated as a document distinct from the rest of the Pentateuch. Meantime, the search for traces of J and E extended to the other books of the Pentateuch and spread to Joshua, thus making the Hexateuch the new field of operations. In more recent years the pursuit of J and E has continued through Judges to the books of Kings, and threatens to go farther afield.

Theories of the origin of the Pentateuch were framed to keep pace with the developments of criticism. The first was the 'fragment' theory, according to which the Hexateuch was a composite of many literary segments, mostly of independent

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th of March, 1942.

authorship and not inter-connected. The documents J and E were similarly composite. This was of course destructive of all unity. Unity was restored when about 1830 a new theory was advanced, according to which the document E—which indeed comprised the greater part of the Hexateuch—was the *Grundschrift* or 'basic document,' and J was merely supplementary. This theory was known as the 'supplementary' or 'expansionist' theory. When about 1850 E was subjected to a more searching analysis it was found to consist of two main documents which were known as the First and Second Elohist respectively. The First Elohist, the document containing particularly the legislative elements and matters pertaining to them, was given the name Priests' Code, or the Priestly Code, by the Dutch scholar Kuenen.

Thus four documents had now been distinguished which conjointly formed the warp and woof of the Pentateuch, and it was commonly accepted that they had been combined by a redactor (R), identified by some scholars at this time with the writer of the book of Deuteronomy. The question of dating the documents was a prime consideration. As early as the year 1806 De Wette had argued that the legislative code of Deuteronomy could not be much older than the time of its discovery in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah (621 B.C.), although other scholars preferred to date it in the reign of Manasseh.

The position of criticism about the year 1866 can be given in the words of Kuenen:

"The Deuteronomist, a contemporary of Manasseh or Josiah, was the redactor of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, and it was he who brought them into the form in which they now lie before us. He interwove or inserted his own laws or narratives into the work of the Jehovist that dated from the eighth century B.C., and was therefore about one hundred years old in his time. To this Jehovist we owe the first four books of the Pentateuch and the earlier (pre-Deuteronomic) recension of Joshua. His work was in its turn based upon a still earlier composition—the *Grundschrift* or 'Book of Origins'—which came from the pen of a priest or Levite and might be referred to the century of Solomon." [1]

[1] *Hexateuch*, E.T. (1886), p. xi.

At this time then there was no suggestion of a late date for the Priestly Code, and it was generally held to be the earliest of the four documents since it formed part of E. The great legislative content of the Pentateuch was, as tradition and expectation alike made it out to be, the earliest portion of the literature. But currents were already astir which were destined to remove it from pride of place. As far back as the year 1834 Reuss had drawn attention to the contradiction between the ritualistic legislation in the middle books of the Pentateuch and the cult as presented in the books of Judges and Samuel, and reached the conclusion that this legislation must derive from the period after Ezekiel. This viewpoint was taken up and established by Graf (1866 and 1869). In this he was quickly followed by Kuenen (1869), who confessed that before this he had already felt dissatisfaction with the 'supplement' theory and had mentally thrown it over. Wellhausen, after proclaiming that he had been haunted by the feeling that the prophets rightfully preceded the law, supported this view, basing on a theory of general religious development. Nor was this theory of religious evolution entirely new. Concurrent with the advance of literary criticism there had spread the recognition of an evolutionary process in religion and particularly in religious ideas. It was on the score of such a conception that Vatke, in the year 1835, had argued that the prophets should come chronologically before the law. The advent of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis brought a sense of finality to the literary criticism of the Pentateuch, and the order **JEDP** became the accepted chronological order of the documents. According to the hypothesis Deuteronomy, or rather its legislative core, chapters 12 to 26, originated in the time of Josiah (621 B.C.) under the influence of the teaching of the eighth-century prophets with the aim of centralising worship at Jerusalem. The documents **J** and **E** were already in existence. Shortly before the Exile **J** and **E** were united by a redactor who worked over **JE** from the Deuteronomic standpoint. The Priestly Code was composed partly during the Exile and partly after, under the influence of the book of Ezekiel. The Code of Holiness (Leviticus 17-26) was composed in the Exile. This developed code was incorporated in **P**. Ezra brought this law

in 458 B.C. to Jerusalem and in 444 bound the people to it. P was later united to JED either in 444 or later. After Ezra the legislation in P received several accretions.

Since its formulation nearly eighty years ago the hypothesis has been subjected to continual criticism, but although this relentless attack has tended to promote the distrust and to increase the widespread disfavour in which it is held, it is still the regnant hypothesis. Like the other documents P has been subjected to more meticulous examination. This has led to the recognition of a considerable amount of extraneous matter, and there is a disposition to look for a fifth document. But there is no agreement on the scope, character and place of origin of this document. Alternative theories to the Graf-Wellhausen have been offered but they have met with little support.

The Priestly Code, as envisaged by the Graf-Wellhausen school, is a document the contemplation of which evokes distrust. Let me quote James Orr's description: "The law as elaborated in the Exile was practically a new thing. What belonged to the practice of a previous age was taken up, transformed, had a new meaning put into it, was brought under new leading ideas, was developed and enlarged by new rites and institutions. Above all, in order to clothe it with a Mosaic character and secure for it the necessary authority, old and new alike were thrown back into the age of Moses and the wilderness and were represented as originating and being put into force there. This Mosaic dress was a fiction. The elaborate descriptions of the tabernacle and its arrangements, the dispositions of the camp in the wilderness, the accounts of the consecration of Aaron and his sons, of the choice and setting apart of the Levites, of the origin of the Passover, etc.—all was a product of the imagination." [1]

We must here recapitulate briefly the theory advanced in our last lecture as to the origin of the Pentateuch, for it is against it as background that we must consider the position of the Priestly Code and of the legislation in the Pentateuch in general. The Pentateuch, or Torah, was composed, or rather compiled, at the time of Samuel and under his direction. It was composed to provide for centralisation of worship, and to be the law of the

[1] *Problem of the Old Testament*, London, 1905, pp. 288 f.

Jerusalem Temple when erected. As it was compiled by a council of priests and scribes the question of the relative dates of the documents traceable in the Pentateuch does not arise. The characteristics of the documents would thus possibly represent distinctive contributions by individual compilers. This does not rule out the possibility, and indeed, if our data be admitted, the certainty, that the compilers relied on written documents of earlier periods. Of these there would be a legislative core or corpus going back to Moses. The Torah was designed to be the code for a unified Israel under a monarch, and Deuteronomy embodied the changes necessary to give effect to that situation. The Torah, when introduced, had only a brief spell in which to operate. Unified Israel ceased to exist and the writ of the Torah no longer ran. Centralisation of worship was no longer feasible since the inhabitants of Northern Israel were forcibly barred from going up to Jerusalem for the festivals. The Torah passed into desuetude and, for the time being, oblivion. A return to the pre-Torah legislation of the Shiloh temple and the worship of Yahweh Sebaoth—part of this legislation was probably the Code of Holiness—seems indicated. With the fall of the Northern Kingdom Hezekiah tried to reunite all Israel under the Torah, and in this he was followed by Josiah, whose movement was stimulated by the discovery of an ancient copy of the book of the covenant, almost certainly Deuteronomy.

To return now to our theme. Assuming, as we have every right to do, that in the Old Testament writings we have at least an outline of the early history of the Hebrew people, there are three periods when it might be expected that legislation would be given to the people, since the historical situation rendered that not only possible but probable. The first occasion would be the traditional beginning of all law for them, the acceptance of a code under which to live. This was to them that time in the distant past when they received from Yahweh the law at the hands of Moses, and bound themselves to their God. The second occasion would be when they decided to make a drastic change in the structure of government and replaced the hierarchy by a monarchy. Their legal system would call for revision to include the civil as well as the religious. As a central sanctuary was erected

at this period modifications in religious institutions, some of them far-reaching, were clearly indicated if worship was to be centralised. The third occasion would be at the time of the restoration of the Temple. For long the people had been dissociated from the sanctuary and its associated ritual. The time was opportune for reorganising and making a fresh start.

These, then, are the three occasions, and as far as we can see, the only three occasions, if we except the entry into and occupation of the Holy Land, in the whole of the Old Testament period, when we would be justified in expecting the formulation of law codes and their promulgation. We know that in respect of the first and third, expectations appear to have been realised. The promulgation of the law by Moses at Sinai is represented as a ceremonial occasion. The people are gathered together to hear the words of the law code under which they are henceforth to live. Moses recounts to the people all the words of the Lord and the judgements which he had received on the Mount. The people make a joint response, binding themselves to do all the words which Yahweh had spoken. Moses then writes the words in a book and dedicates it to Yahweh in a religious ceremony. He proceeds without delay to erect an altar at the foot of the Mount with twelve symbolic pillars to represent the twelve tribes of Israel. He reads from the Book of the Covenant and the people again respond.[1]

For the third occasion the scene is Jerusalem. It is the first day of the seventh month and the people have assembled as one man in the wide space before the watergate. They call upon Ezra to bring the book of the law of Moses which Yahweh had commanded to Israel. Ezra read from it from early morning till midday, whilst the people listened attentively and interpreters were stationed in various parts to explain the reading. The people, we are told, wept when they heard the words of the law, but Nehemiah and Ezra proclaimed it a time of rejoicing, not of weeping, so the people made high holiday.[2] There is here no dedication of the law since it was clearly the re-introduction of an old law code which had evidently been neglected and in abeyance.

[1] Ex. 24 : 3-8 (**E**).

[2] Neh. 8 : 1-12.

Before passing on to deal with the second of the three occasions we have mentioned, there are two other instances of the public reading of law which we may briefly pass under review. In the book of Joshua [1] we are told that on the entry of the children of Israel into the Holy Land the law was inscribed on stones 'as it is written in the book of the law of Moses' (Deut. 27 : 2-8). The people and their elders, officers and judges gathered beside the ark. Joshua read all the words of the law. On this occasion, too, an altar was built and sacrifices offered. It is a ceremonial linking of the people with the law in the land where it is to be operative. Yet another public reading of a law code was that recorded in the eighteenth year of king Josiah (621 B.C.). There is no suggestion here of the introduction of a new code. We are told of the discovery of a book called the 'book of the covenant' in the account in 2 Kings,[2] and the 'book of the law given by Moses,' as well as 'the book of the covenant,' in 2 Chronicles.[3] The discovery was made, apparently accidentally, by Hilkiah, the high priest. An assembly of all the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem was called. The king read in the ears of the people all the words of the law. Thereafter the king stood by the pillar and made a covenant with the Lord to keep the law. 'And all the people stood to the covenant.' As in the case of the Ezra gathering there is here no suggestion of the promulgation of a new law code. There is no formal writing of it, nor dedication of the written word to the Lord. The law book which the king read was clearly a book known, by repute at least, to the people, and of an authority sufficient to supersede the law code under which they were living.

To return now to the second period in which, as we have indicated, there would be reasonable expectation of the giving of fresh legislation—the period of the institution of the monarchy and its essential complement the centralisation of worship. We are mainly dependent for our knowledge of the period in which these great events happened on the book of Samuel. Modern critical division of the book, into a Samuel biography and a Saul biography for instance, neither helps nor hinders our purpose. In 1 Sam. (10 : 17 ff.) we find that the people are

[1] 8 : 30-5 (**JE**). [2] 22, 23. [3] 34.

assembled unto Yahweh at Mizpah for the highly important task of choosing a king. They are addressed by Samuel, and Saul is selected by lot. Then, we are further informed, Samuel recited (וידבר)[1] the constitution of the kingdom (משפט המלכה). He then wrote it in a book and laid it up before the Lord—or in other words dedicated it to the Lord for preservation in the sanctuary. In Deut. (31 : 9, 24) the account of Moses' last address to the people is followed by the statement that he " wrote the words of this law in a book which he deposited with the Levites to be preserved beside the ark." The deduction is clear. The correct procedure, based on tradition, was that new legislation should be written down and the copy laid up in the sanctuary.

As we have already observed, the institution of a monarchy in place of an existing hierarchy would seem to call for changes in legislation and for the introduction of a civil code beside the religious code. Is there, then, in the legislation of the Old Testament any code which is either purely civil or combines the civil with the religious, and if so, can it be related to this period? It has long been recognised that the book of Deuteronomy is a summary of the legislation found in the middle books of the Pentateuch, the bulk of it being the Priestly Code. It has a law of the king but none of the high priest as such. If now, we separate from it the legislation which has associations with that of the previous books in the Pentateuch, we find there remains over a considerable amount of legislation which has no correspondences elsewhere. As this point is one of considerable importance we must deal with it in some detail.

In Deuteronomy there is the first mention of a supreme tribunal to deal with appeals in matters of grave importance. In it, associated with the " priests, the Levites," is a judge, presumably a layman, to represent the civil side (17 : 8-13). There is the law of the king where it is laid down that the king to be chosen must not be a foreigner, must not multiply horses,

[1] The word דבר is that generally used when the giving of a new law is mentioned, as when Moses and Aaron are instructed to ' speak ' to the children of Israel. It is the word used of Moses declaring unto the people the ' feasts of the Lord ' (Lev. 21 : 24. 23 : 44).

nor multiply wives. He must write a copy of " this Torah " in a book from the copy which is before " the priests, the Levites," i.e. the official copy used for reference in the law court (17 : 14-20). There is the law of the prophet where the raising up of a prophet like unto Moses is foretold. The prophet must speak only what has been commanded by Yahweh, and must not speak in the name of other gods. The means of verification of the true prophet are indicated (18 : 15-22). The removal of a neighbour's landmark is forbidden (19 : 14). There are laws dealing with military matters, including exemptions from military service, based on possession of a new but undedicated house, a new unsampled vineyard, a betrothed wife, a confession of faint-heartedness. The siege of a city and the treatment of its inhabitants when conquered, and in the case of a protracted siege the sparing of the fruit trees, come into the same category (20 : 1-20). There is the law dealing with expiation of an untraced murder (21 : 1-9). Fair treatment for female captives of war is laid down (21 : 10-14). There are laws dealing with the removal from the gibbet of the body of a malefactor (21 : 22-3), the prohibition of interchange of garments by the sexes (22 : 5), the preservation of the parent bird when the nest is robbed of the young birds (22 : 5-7), and the conditions of admission to the congregation of the Lord (23 : 2-9). The escaped slave is to be treated with humanity (23 : 15). Regard is to be had to a neighbour's crops. Casual satisfaction of hunger is permitted but not systematic plundering (23 : 2-5). For the first time there is permission of divorce, and the divorced wife is allowed to remarry (24 : 1-4). It is enacted that the family of a criminal must not be called on to suffer punishment with him. Every man is to be put to death for his own sin (24 : 16). Moderation in infliction of the bastinado is laid down (25 : 1-3). The ox on the threshing floor is not to be muzzled (25 : 4). There are, too, the institutions of levirate marriage (25 : 15-10) and a thanksgiving service at the payment of the triennial tithes (26 : 12-15).

Most of these matters which we have just dealt with are such as would properly come before a civil court. In the book of Deuteronomy we have a combination of religious and civil law.

It is such a law code as would reasonably be expected at the period of the establishment of a monarchy. It could well merit the designation 'constitution of the realm' (משפט המלכה). It seems a fair inference, then, that we have in the book of Deuteronomy, or at least in its legislative core, that law code which Sanuel communicated to the people, wrote in a book and laid up before the Lord. It was the law book for the new monarchy. It can safely be said that no other law code in the Old Testament will fill the bill. It was this civil aspect of Deuteronomy that earned for it the title by which it used to be known, " the people's book."

That the promulgation of a new law code by Samuel at Mizpah is meant to be understood in the account given of the assembly (1 Sam. 10 : 17-27), receives support from the context. The record of events in the chapters immediately preceding the tenth, appear to be leading up to that climax. In this connexion we may be allowed to quote the words of H. P. Smith from his commentary on Samuel.[1] He does not make his observations in support of any particular theory, and, so far as I know, makes no special use of them. He says : " Throughout the chapter (i.e. chap. 7) Samuel reminds us of Moses. Like the great law-giver, Samuel rebukes the people, judges them, intercedes for them. Their victory over the enemy is due to his prayers, as the victory over Amalek in the wilderness is due to the upraised hands of Moses. The parallel continues in the next chapter (chap. 8). Here the people rebel against their prophet and in so doing rebel against Yahweh himself. . . . The continuation of the story is 10 : 17-25. The choice of a king by lot follows immedaitely on the people's demand. In handling the lot Samuel appears not exactly as another Moses, but at least as another Joshua." What, then, was in the mind of the writer? Why all this parallelism with Moses if it was not intended to lead up to the great parallel—the lawgiving? And what other law book is there so appropriate to the time and the conditions as that contained in the book of Deuteronomy?[2]

[1] *Samuel* (Int. Crit. Com.), 1912, p. xvii.

[2] For other comparisons of Samuel with Moses, see " Temple and Torah " (*Bull. J.R.L.*, 26 (1941), pp. 188, 192).

Thus of the three periods in Hebrew history when the introduction of new legislation might reasonably be anticipated, from two only is evidence of such forthcoming. In the third case, as we have seen and as many others have recognised, Ezra was merely re-introducing an old law; yet, if we accept the Graf-Wellhausen contentions, at no other time in Hebrew history was so much law manufactured, or if not manufactured at least manipulated with a definite purpose.

Is it not strange that the authors of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, when fixing the scheme of dating of the documents, did not consider the possibility of the period of the institution of the monarchy and the building of the Temple as the most likely date for Deuteronomy? What better occasion and opportunity for the centralisation of worship could be looked for than was provided in the building of a central sanctuary? It is, however, a reasonable conjecture that if that period had suggested itself to them they would have rejected it. At the time of the formulation of the hypothesis there were two beliefs which controlled all Old Testament exegesis, both of which have since been proved erroneous. The first was the belief that writing was not only unknown at the time of Moses but was not even known at the time of Solomon. The second was that Hebrew religion evolved like the religions of primitive peoples through animism, fetishism, ancestor-worship and primitive forms of idolatry. The second belief still finds echoes in modern criticism, in spite of the fact that archæological and other evidences reveal that the Hebrews from their traditional place of origin and throughout their migrations must have been in constant contact with civilisations whose religious development was in an advanced state, such as the Sumerian, Babylonian, Hurrian, Hittite, Egyptian. The Hebrews were never an Arab tribe, and their wanderings for a short period in the desert could not turn them into one.

The first belief, however, is the one with which we are more directly concerned. At the time the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis took shape the oldest monument of writing was the Moabite Stone (*c.* 850 B.C.), and this may be computed as roughly two centuries after the time of Samuel. It was believed that prophets,

priests and people lived prior to this time in a non-literary world. Traditions were preserved in the memory and handed on orally. Legislation and ritual were transmitted from priest to priest in the same way. That this is not a fanciful picture we are drawing can be gauged from the observations of those who shaped the hypothesis. Thus Kuenen remarks: "It is an established fact that from primeval times the priests of Jehovah uttered Torah orally." [1] . . . "A written regulation of the cultus did not exist in pre-Deuteronomic days." [2] Moses was, of course, ruled out altogether and any references to his writing merely raised a smile. According to Wellhausen: "Ancient Israel was certainly not without God-given bases for the ordering of human life; only they were not fixed in writing." [3] In the English translation of E. Renan's *History of the People of Israel*, published in the year 1888, the author contends that there is no proof that Samuel knew how to write and that 1 Sam. 10: 25 has little value. It belongs to the most feeble part of the history of Samuel. The expression משפט המלכה does not mean a constitution or rule of royalty. It is rather a transcript of the verses 8: 9 ff. against the king. What may be true, he goes on, is that in his time Israel made a certain progress in the art of writing. Up to that time writing had not been in common use either among the Israelites or among the Canaanites.

In view of the knowledge we now possess of the existence in Syria and Palestine not of one script only but of many, we can only regret that our knowledge was not shared by the framers of the hypothesis. Since the days when the Moabite Stone was the earliest known inscription in the Phœnician alphabet, the inscriptions of the Baal Lebanon bowls, the Ahiram sarcophagus at Byblos, and, most important of all, the proto-Semitic alphabetic signs from the Sinai peninsula have raised by degrees the certainty of the knowledge of writing, and alphabetic writing at that, to at least the nineteenth century B.C.—far beyond the age of Moses. Ostraca at Gezer, Lachish, Beth Shemesh, and the text of unknown characters found at Balu'a in Moab show that alphabetic writing was both early and widespread. The existence of

[1] *Hexateuch*, p. 272. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 273.
[3] *Prolegomena*, E.T., p. 293.

the Tell Amarna letters proves the knowledge and use of Akkadian cuneiform script in Palestine prior to the entry. The cuneiform alphabet of Ras Shamra bears witness to the fact that the early Canaanite peoples were likewise cultured. Writing of the effects of the discovery of the Sinaitic alphabetic script, Montgomery observes: "The Muse of History has thus ironically turned the tables upon us critics who with no earlier dateable text than the Moabite Stone were at least sceptical towards the tradition that Moses wrote the Ten Commandments and so forth, and with gentle satire has disclosed for us those early remains of the alphabet in the very desert where the wanderings of Israel were experienced." [1]

It is evident, then, that the authors of the hypothesis could never have considered the possibility of the code of Deuteronomy having originated in the days of Samuel. Instead they pegged it to the time of Josiah and regarded it as "the first and in its time the only book of its kind." [2] The book, we gather, was shaped in secret under the influence of the prophetic ideas, but the legislative corpus of the middle books of the Pentateuch had yet to come into being. In Ezekiel the authors of the hypothesis found a useful intermediary to hand. Ezekiel was both priest and prophet, and in the last nine chapters of his book he has elaborated a law code which has marked similarities with the legislation of the middle books, particularly the Code of Holiness (Lev. 17-26). The question of priority as between Ezekiel and the Code of Holiness naturally arose, but the general view, at least in the early stages of the theory, was that Ezekiel came first and might indeed himself have been the author of the Code of Holiness. Ezekiel was the recognised link between the code of Deuteronomy and the priestly legislation of Ezra. He supplied the inspiration for the priesthood of the Captivity. According to Wellhausen he starts from prophetic ideas, but they are not his own ideas. They are those of his predecessors which he turns into dogmas. He is by nature a priest, and his peculiar merit is that he enclosed the soul of prophecy in the body of a community, which was not political but founded on the Temple

[1] *New Sources of Knowledge* (*Record and Revelation*, Oxford, 1935, p. 8).
[2] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, E.T., p. 402.

and the cultus.[1] The importance of the last nine chapters of Ezekiel for the criticism of the Pentateuch was already recognised by George and Vatke, and they were entitled " the key to the Old Testament." Ezekiel, according to Robertson Smith, is the first prophet to propose a reconstruction of ritual in conformity with the spiritual truths of prophecy, doing so by sketching an independent scheme of ritual which unquestionably had a great influence on subsequent development. Jeremiah, he points out, like Ezekiel, was a priest, but there is nothing in the book of Jeremiah which recognises the necessity for such a scheme of ritual as Ezekiel maps out.[2] Under the Graf-Wellhausen order of things the importance of Ezekiel can hardly be over-estimated. He, more than Moses, is responsible for the Torah. Beside him Moses pales into insignificance, a mere legendary and jejune figure.

It is not our purpose here to make a detailed attack on the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. The repeated attacks to which it has been subjected by scholars in the past, and to which it is still subject, show that it does not easily cover the facts nor solve all difficulties. Take, for instance, the position of the priests and Levites which Wellhausen calls " the Achilles heel of the Priestly Code." [3] The hypothesis assumes the expression " the priests, the Levites " of Deuteronomy to imply an equating of priests and Levites. " Deuteronomy knows no Levites who cannot be priests and no priests who are not Levites. The two ideas are absolutely identical." [4] This testimony evidently conflicted with the practice of Ezekiel's age, which really impinged on Josiah's, where there was a distinction between priests and Levites. How came it about that there could be two incompatible conceptions of priesthood existing side by side, both presumably claiming divine sanction? Ezekiel made it clear that the Levites were the dispossessed priests of the high places who were degraded because they apostatised when Israel went astray, whilst the sons of Zadok were confirmed in the priestly office because they held the fort. The priestly writers of the Captivity, so we are led to believe, engaged in their great task

[1] *Prolegomena*, E.T., p. 421 ; R. Smend, *Ezechiel*, p. 312.
[2] *O.T.J.C.*, p. 307. [3] *Proleg.*, E.T., p. 167. [4] *O.T.J.C.*, p. 360.

of constructing, or re-constructing, the wilderness legislation contrived so to shape the legislation as to make it appear that the division into two classes had been there from early times. Thus the division into two classes appears, as dating from the wilderness, in the Priestly Code (Num. 3 : 5-10 ; 18 : 1-7). Such is the explanation offered by the framers of the hypothesis. It is obviously not a convincing explanation, and they do not feel happy about it.

What other explanation can we offer? In Deuteronomy the position of the high Priest is not defined—indeed, there is no mention of a high priest as such. Where we would expect to find him mentioned we have mention instead of a new class of priests called " the priests, the Levites," for whom special provision is made (Deut. 18 : 1-8). They are an important class of priests since they, along with a civil judge who is mentioned after them, form the supreme court of appeal (17 : 8-13). You will recall that it was Moses himself to whom the difficult cases were referred when the law courts were being established (Ex. 18 : 25-6). In the law of the king where it is enjoined that the king should write a copy of the law in a book, the copy is to be made from the one " before the priests, the Levites " (17 : 18). In other words, it is to be made from the official copy of the law in accordance with which the supreme court made its decisions. In the difficult law of leprosy the people are enjoined to do according to all which " the priests, the Levites " shall teach them (24 : 8). In a later chapter (27 : 9), " the priests, the Levites " are associated with Moses in speaking to all Israel and enjoining obedience to the commandments and statutes of the Lord God. " The priests, the Levites " are obviously not only a special class of priests but one of the highest rank. Who were they? The Samaritan community for long claimed a priesthood in direct descent from Aaron through Eleazar. Their high priest had the title הכהן הגדול ; but when in comparatively recent times (A.D. 1625) the direct succession finally ceased, the new high priest was known as " the priest, the Levite " (הכהן הלוי), and that is the title borne by their high priests to the present day. It would appear possible, then, that the heads of the great shrines who were perhaps of Aaronic descent but not in the direct line,

or it may be all the heads of dispossessed shrines called to Jerusalem because of the centralisation of worship, may have been referred to as " the priests, the Levites."

That an attempt was made to operate the Torah, particularly the Deuteronomic Code, seems indicated by the number of priests and seers in Jerusalem during the reigns of David and Solomon, who appear to be intriguing for a position of primacy in the priesthood: Zadok and Abiathar, Nathan, Gad, Abimelech. We learn incidentally that David's sons were priests and that 'Ira the Jairite was priest unto David (2 Sam. 20: 26). When Solomon advanced Zadok to the first place and cut off Abiathar because of his association with Adonijah, he in reality re-established the high priesthood in the family of Zadok, who appears to have been of Aaronic descent through Ithamar. The bringing into effective operation of the Torah may well have proved a formidable task. The centralisation of worship and of the legal administration in Jerusalem could well cause bewilderment and confusion in many quarters. Many difficulties would have to be surmounted in giving effect to the law's requirements. It would involve a new orientation of the religious, and that meant the daily, life of the people. There would be active opposition in many directions. We learn from 1 Sam. 10: 26 that a certain number, who are there designated " sons of Belial," were openly opposed to Saul. The co-operation of the rulers may not have been enthusiastic. As Samuel indicated to the people, and as was evidenced in the reigns of Saul, David and Solomon, the kingship could prove to be a tyrannical autocracy. The intriguing of the heads of the dispossessed shrines who had been brought to Jerusalem may well have contributed to the chaotic political conditions in the reigns of David and Solomon, and hastened the downfall of the united monarchy. The Torah itself may not have settled down effectively on the nation, and when the break came there would be little hesitation in throwing it over.

We may visualise the course of events somewhat as follows. After Rehoboam's rejection at Shechem, Deuteronomy, with its supplement, the other four books of the Pentateuch, ceased to be the law of the land. The supreme court would be dissolved

and the official copy of the law removed from before " the priests, the Levites," and the judge who sat with them. The tithes would no longer be gathered. The great national festivals would lose all meaning since Jeroboam effectively blocked all participation by the inhabitants of the new Northern Kingdom. There would be nothing else to do but to return to the legislation and ritual which had previously existed. This appears to have been that ritual associated with Yahweh Sebaoth of Shiloh. With that legislation the great mass of the people might be expected to be familiar. The high priesthood in Jerusalem, too, was in the hands of the Zadokites who had connexion with Shiloh.

With the passing of the Torah it became increasingly plain that only a political reunion of North and South could pave the way for its re-introduction. Efforts were made to restore the unity which would bring back Yahweh to his dwelling-place on earth. Prophets by all means at their disposal, such as political intrigue, fomenting sedition, denunciations, threats and exhortations, strove to bring back the North to Jerusalem. Sometimes success seemed to be at hand, but it never materialised.

The first real opportunity for reunion came in the reign of Hezekiah with the fall of Samaria. But before him Asa and his son Jehoshaphat had made attempts to re-introduce the Torah. Asa had control of a number of cities of Ephraim and he made use of this to try to secure, at least, a religious reunion of North and South. He gathered all Judah and Benjamin and the strangers with them out of Ephraim and Manasseh and out of Simeon (2 Chr. 15 : 9). Israel at this time, we are told, had been without the true God and without a teaching priest and without *torah* (2 Chr. 15 : 3). Similarly, Jehoshaphat went out again through the people from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim and brought them back to the Lord God of their fathers (2 Chr. 19 : 4). When the opportunity presented itself Hezekiah framed a special appeal to the Northern Kingdom, or rather the remnant that was left. He appealed to the children of Israel to turn again to Yahweh in order that He might return to the remnant that are escaped out of the hand of the king of Assyria. An appeal is made to them not to be stiff-necked but to yield themselves unto Yahweh and enter into his sanctuary. Hezekiah,

after this nation-wide appeal has been answered, celebrates on a grand scale the feast of the Passover which in Deuteronomy first appears as raised from a domestic festival to a Temple festival. There was great rejoicing, the Chronicler tells us, for since the time of Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel, there was not the like in Jerusalem (2 Chr. 30). What the Chronicler wishes to stress is that this was the greatest Passover festival since its interruption at Solomon's death.

Josiah's effort to bring back the Torah we have already observed. He, too, made a great celebration of the Passover feast at which all Judah and Israel were present. It was greater evidently than Hezekiah's, for the Chronicler tells us "There was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet." What the Chronicler seemingly wishes to emphasise here is that it was the greatest since the institution of the Passover as a national and Temple festival. As the Passover in this form was first introduced into a law code in Deuteronomy, the inference seems to be that the Chronicler associates the origin of Deuteronomy, or at least the origin of the Temple festival of the Passover, one of the distinctive features of Deuteronomy, with Samuel.[1]

The Josianic reform was carried out no doubt vigorously enough, in the thirteen years that remained of the king's reign. But evidently the Torah did not take firm root. The three months' reign of Jehoahaz was followed by the eleven years of Jehoiakim, who evidently did not persevere with the Torah, since it is said of him " he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, his God." His son, who succeeded him, reigned only three months, and he, too, similarly " did evil in the sight of the Lord," as did his successor, Zedekiah, before he was carried off to Babylon. There was apparently no unanimous support for the Torah, and the opposition was evidently sufficiently strong to set it aside as soon as Josiah had died of his wounds. Judah thus went into captivity a divided people. There would be some for the Torah of the Yahweh of all Israel and others for the legislation of the Yahweh Sebaoth of the Jerusalem Temple.

[1] In 2 Ki. 23 : 22 it is said of Josiah's Passover, " Surely there was not kept such a Passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel."

That these differences would persist in the Captivity seems likely. Was the return under Zerubbabel, Haggai and Zechariah aimed at restoring the worship of Yahweh Sebaoth rather than that of Yahweh, God of all Israel? Certainly in the book of Haggai and in Zechariah 1-8, the Yahweh is Yahweh Sebaoth. On the other hand, in the case of Ezra's return we are expressly told that Ezra was an "expert scribe" in the "Torah of Moses, which Yahweh, God of Israel, had given him" (Ezra 7: 6). In the books of Ezra and Nehemiah the term Yahweh Sebaoth is not used. This may be drawing a rather fine distinction and the subject requires closer investigation before any deduction can safely be drawn. It may be noted, however, that it was at Zerubbabel's return that the North Israelites applied to join in the work of reconstruction, claiming that they worshipped the same God. If Zerubbabel had had in mind the re-introduction of the Torah it is difficult to see how he could have refused the request. Rather should he have welcomed it. But if he was only interested in re-building the sanctuary of Yahweh Sebaoth, we can well understand why he rejected the proposition.

The book of Ezekiel, as we have seen, plays an important part in the Graf-Wellhausen theory. In chapters 40-48 Ezekiel draws a picture of the Temple of the future to which the Israelites of the dispersion will return. He furnishes with it a law code which the Graf-Wellhausen school believe supplied both the model and the inspiration for the author or authors of the Priestly Code. It is not without interest that in recent years Hölscher (1924) and Herntrich (1932) maintain that chapters 40-48 cannot be attributed to Ezekiel.[1] A strong attack on Ezekiel has been made by C. C. Torrey. According to him, the book of Ezekiel is a pseudepigraphon. It is a product of the apocalyptic period of Hebrew literature. It has the reign of Manasseh as its background. It was composed in Palestine about the year 230 B.C.[2] In favour of Torrey's theory it may be said that the book of Ezekiel bears on its face those marks of lateness which critics in general recognise as valid, namely

[1] See G. A. Cooke, *Ezekiel*, p. xxv.
[2] *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, New Haven, 1930.

Aramaisms and apocalyptic notions. There are present other marks of lateness into which we need not enter. What concerns us here is the position of Ezekiel in the theory we are advocating. As we have seen, the re-introduction of the Torah was always accompanied by a call to union. The Torah was for all Israel both North and South. This pre-requisite of union is recognised by Ezekiel. Chapters 34, 36, 37 contain prophecies of restoration. The people are to be gathered from among the nations, sticks representing Ephraim and Judah are to be joined. They are to be made one nation with one king. "They shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all" (37 : 22). And the sanctuary is to be in the midst of them for evermore (37 : 28). Ezekiel is another Samuel with the prospect before him of a central sanctuary, and like Samuel he draws up his legislation for the Temple of his vision. He bases his code on the Torah. There is no need to enter here into a discussion on the interdependence of Ezekiel and the Code of Holiness. We may note, however, that Torrey, who has closely examined the book of Ezekiel with another purpose in view, came to the following conclusion : "The plain fact, as one day will be generally recognised, is that the author of the book had before him the complete Pentateuch in the very form in which it lies before us at the present day." [1] And with that statement we are in full agreement. Modifications of the Torah were made by Ezekiel to suit the altered conditions of his age and of the future as he saw it in his vision. He has two Days of Atonement instead of the one prescribed in Leviticus 16 : 29. He introduced an innovation that the private sacrifices of the people were to be slain for them by the Levites (44 : 11), whereas in Leviticus (1 : 5, etc.) the worshipper had the right to kill the victim himself. In Ezekiel's time the kingship had disappeared. There is no suggestion in his book of a revival of it on the old lines although David as Messianic king is forecast. The place of the king has been taken by a religious functionary, the נשיא (Prince). As Solomon had re-established the high priesthood

[1] *Ps.-Ez.*, p. 91.

in the family of Zadok, Ezekiel could not do otherwise than confirm it. The Zadokites had continued to serve in the Temple after the disruption of the United Kingdom. The Levites, no doubt finding themselves deprived of their living in the capital, went back to reopen, and offer sacrifices at, the high places. Ezekiel explains that the Levites are degraded because of this conduct. It seems a reasonable and perfectly natural explanation to give. In the Mishnah (*Menahoth*, xii, 10) it is said: "The priests who have served in a heathen temple may not serve in the Temple at Jerusalem, and much less those who have served an idol, for it is written, 'But the priests of the high places may not approach God's altar in Jerusalem, but they may eat unleavened bread among their brethren' (2 Ki. 23: 9). They are like those who have some bodily defect; they may partake and eat with their brethren but may not offer." Ezekiel, then, did not of his own accord degrade the Levites. As we have just seen the degradation was already in force in the reformation of Josiah. Ezekiel's consuming desire, one which pervades his prophecy, is to secure the return of Yahweh to his abode on Zion to dwell in the midst of his people. It is the key-note of the book. There is a dramatic touch in the words with which he closes his book. The name of the city shall be יהוה שמה, "The Lord is [come] thither."

Wellhausen made the remark: "I differ from Graf chiefly in this that I always go back to the centralisation of the cultus and deduce from it the particular divergences."[1] His instinct was right, but centralisation by itself was not enough. With it had to be combined a united nation and the operation of the Torah. To shape its high destiny Israel required one Yahweh, one people, one Torah, one Temple. Only for a brief space in the long history of the Hebrew people was the ideal of all four in operation at the same time realised. It was all too quickly shattered when the monarchy was split in two. Without the other three the Torah could not function. Its whole basis was swept away.

Law has been recognised as a divine gift by more than one people. This may be accepted as reasonable evidence that its

[1] *Prolegomena*, E.T., p. 368.

origin goes back to the days of prehistory. It would consequently be one of the first of human institutions to be recorded in writing. A standard copy of the law code would be essential for official reference in any organised administration. Round the law code as nucleus would grow up a ' hedge.' Elaboration, exegesis, homiletic, tradition would contribute to its structure. In other words midrash, both halakhah and haggadah, would take shape. These primitive Talmuds, products of different shrines, would form the sources utilised by any hierarchical council in compiling the Torah. It is difficult to see how the legislation literature of the Pentateuch could have originated otherwise. The same forces operative in the slow formation of the great Talmuds would be operative from the first on the basic legislative codes with analogous results. It is many years ago since scholars such as Wellhausen, Kuenen, Kautzsch and others recognised in Genesis 14 ' a post-exilian midrash.' The possibility that the Priestly Code, for instance, is a legislative kernel with a covering of midrashic matter should not be ruled out. That a legislative nucleus dates back to Moses and was committed to writing at that time, we have every reason to believe. We do not require either the intervention or the inventiveness of a Levite or a Levitical school of the period of the Captivity to explain it or explain it away.

The Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, admittedly unsatisfying in many of its features, has yet oriented to itself the greater part of Old Testament criticism, and small loophole is furnished for escape from the distorted vision of Hebrew religion and literature which it presents. The zeal and enthusiasm of the scholars who subscribe to it have led them to new extremes of analysis and dating. As Gressmann has remarked : " The exuberance of the critics has made about nine-tenths of the Old Testament post-exilic. Is it conceivable that the wretched circumstances of Judaism after the Return could have produced a literary output of such wealth, and that the blossom period of the religion and culture of Israel must be separated by centuries from its literature." [1] The Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis has served a useful

[1] *Aufgaben der alttest. Forschung*, p. 7.

purpose in stimulating criticism in many directions, but the light which it has brought is offset by the sinister shadow cast by it on the pages of the Old Testament. It is a shadow which the great majority of present-day Old Testament scholars would wish to see removed.

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# SELECTED CHESHIRE SEALS (12TH — 17TH CENTURY) FROM THE COLLECTIONS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY F. TAYLOR, M.A., PH.D.,
KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

THE twenty seals relating to Cheshire brought together below from the various collections in the Library's Charter Room range in date from the early twelfth to the seventeenth century. All, it may be fairly claimed, have an interest not only for the local historian, but also for the student of sigillography in general, for few, if any, of them could be described as common; at least one, the fine seal of Ranulf II, Earl of Chester, is apparently unique. They have been arranged in the following order: Nos. 1–3, Earls of Chester, 12th–13th century; 4–6, Princes of Wales and Earls of Chester (the Black Prince and Henry of Monmouth, later King Henry V), 14th century; 7, Henry de Lacy, 3rd Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, *c.* 1300; 8, The County Palatine of Chester, 1531; 9–12, The County Palatine of Chester and County of Flint, 17th century; 13, St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, 10 September, 1538; 14–17, Ecclesiastical Seals (The Dean and Chapter of Chester Cathedral, 1541; John Bird, 1st Bishop of Chester, 1549; Adam de Stanford, Archdeacon of Chester, 1272/74; The Officiality of the Archdeaconry of Chester, 1384), 13th–16th century; 18, Chester, Privy Seal of the Mayor, 1462; 19, Statute Merchant Seal of Chester, 1589; 20, The Earl of Derby as Steward of the Halmote Court of Macclesfield, 1376.

The selection could have been considerably widened without much difficulty, for the Library is rich in materials for the history of this county. A separate and lengthy section, for example, could have been devoted to private seals of heraldic or patterned design, among which the old county families and their branches

are well represented. At the risk of allowing this brief introductory note to develop into a list, attention is drawn to the following, which provide representative examples of this type of seal: Sir William de Boydel, 1344 (Rylands Ch. 1742); Sir William de Brereton, 1418 (Mainwaring Ch. 208); Robert de Brescy, *early* Edward I (Rylands Ch. 1790); Ellen, wife of Geoffrey de Bromale, 1420 (Mainwaring Ch. 218); Henry de Delves, 1383 (Rylands Ch. 1851); Matthew de Fouleshurst, 1360 (Mainwaring Ch. 140); Adam de Hooton, *late* 13th cent, (Rylands Ch. 1634); Roger Jodrell, 1401 (Jodrell Ch. 24); William, son of William Lancelyn, *late* Henry III or *early* Edward I (Rylands Ch. 1542); John, son of Robert de Legh, 1395 (Mainwaring Ch. 174); Robert de Legh, 1364 (Jodrell Ch. 207); Ranulph Mainwaring, 1395 (Mainwaring Ch. 176); Thomas de Mainwaring, *temp.* Edward I (*ib.* 85); William Mainwaring, 1393 (*ib.* 172); Sir Geoffrey de Mascie of Tatton, 1447 (Mascie Taylor Ch. 51); John de Meeres, 1405 (Crutchley Ch. 620); William de Mobberley, *temp.* Edward I (Mainwaring Ch. 86); Ralph, son of William de Northwich, and his wife Sibilla, *temp.* Edward I (Rylands Ch. 1811); Joan de Storeton, *early* Henry III (*ib.* 1808); John, son of Richard de Sutton, 1374 (Jodrell Ch. 212); William, son of Robert de Tabley, 1248 (Mainwaring Ch. 16); Robert Tatton, 1539 (Tatton Ch. 448); John Touchet, Baron of Audley, 1406 (Hatton Wood MSS., Legh of Booths Ch. 2); William de Venables, 1284/87 (Mascie Taylor Ch. 23); and Ralph de Wettenhall, 1437 (Mainwaring Ch. 251).

In the descriptions below the following information has been given about each seal, where possible :—

(1) A brief title. (2) The date of (*a*) the seal itself, where such a date occurs in the legend (see also 10 below), or (*b*) the document to which it is attached.

(3) Finding reference in the Library. (4) Colour. (5) Size. If round, the diameter is given in millimetres. If an oval or a pointed oval, this is indicated and both diameters are similarly given. No other shape occurs here. (6) Condition of seal, perfect or imperfect; if the latter, an attempt is made to indicate the extent of the imperfection. (7) Condition of impression(s).

*Note :* To avoid confusion it has been found convenient to indicate such particulars of a counter-seal as differ from those of the obverse under 9 (*b*) below.

(8) Method of attachment: (*a*) Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment, or (*b*) on a tongue. In the latter case, the length and breadth of the tongue and the length from the root to the edge of the seal are given in inches. The presence of a tie beneath the tongue is noted.

(9) Description of device(s): (*a*) obverse, (*b*) reverse or counter-seal, where found.

(10) Legend(s) and border, if other than a mere line. In present circumstances it has not been found possible to have the exact form of all the letterings of the legends reproduced in type.

(11) A general note, if considered necessary. The references given here do not pretend to be exhaustive.

## 1. RANULF II ("DE GERNONS"), EARL OF CHESTER, A.D. 1129/39. (Pl. I, fig. 1.)

[Rylands Ch. 1807.] Uncoloured, yellowish-brown wax. 78 mm. in diameter. A small piece is broken off at the bottom and the edges are somewhat chipped ; these small imperfections, for purposes of description, affect only the legend, not the device. Good impression.

On a tongue $4\frac{1}{5}$″ long and $\frac{4}{5}$″ broad, the top of the seal being $1\frac{1}{2}$″ from the root.

A helmeted figure on horseback, to the right. He is leaning slightly backwards and showing, apparently, full face. In the hand of his extended right arm is a sword with a wide groove, held at an acute angle, the point terminating above his head. In his left hand is what appears to be a kite-shaped shield, showing the interior. The horse is standing, its left fore-leg raised and bent. Mane, saddle, stirrup, reins and breast-band are visible.

[✠ SIG]ILLVO) · RANNVLFI · C[OO)ITIS · CEST]RIEN-SIS·

Beaded border.

This seal is apparently unique. See R. Stewart-Brown,

"The Charter and Horn of the Master-Forester of Wirral" (reprinted from *Trans. of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 87, 1936), particularly pp. 104 *sqq.* and the references there, where it is considered; a photograph is given *ib.*, facing p. 104, and the charter and seal are shown on the plate facing p. 97. The description above is fuller than that given by Mr. Stewart-Brown. For charters of Ranulf II see H. A. Cronne's article in *Trans. of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., vol. 20 (1937).

## 2. HUGH II ("OF CYVEILIOG"), EARL OF CHESTER. LATE HENRY II.

[Rylands Ch. 1436.] Uncoloured wax, which has lost much of its nature and is now brittle and whitish-yellow. A large fragment only, measuring *c.* 40 × 56 mm., sewn with green thread in a round, parchment cover. Good impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

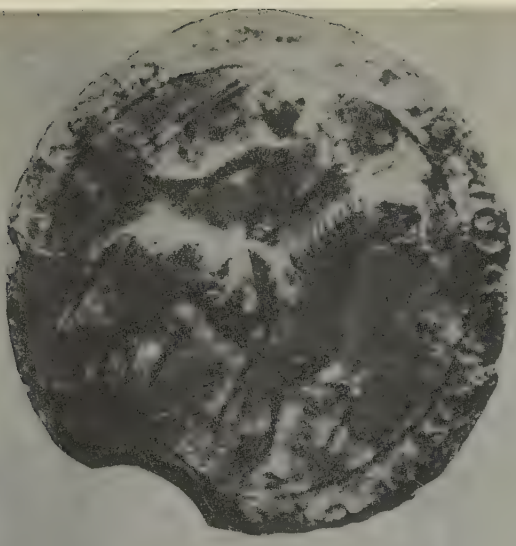
Ø. An equestrian figure in armour, wearing spurs, to the right, the horse with a long, ornamental saddle-cloth. [The body of the figure, the head and front legs of the horse, and the legend not included.]

Rℐ. A small, oval counter-seal, measuring 28 × 25 mm. Impression of an antique intaglio gem, subject uncertain, surrounded by the legend: ✠ SECRETVM · ME - - - - - CHI.

The details of the ornamental saddle-cloth on the obverse differ from those shown in the illustrations in Helsby's edition of Ormerod, vol. i (1882), p. 31, and Planché's "On the Seals of the Earls of Chester" (ap. *Journal of the British Archaeological Assoc.*, vol. 5), p. 243. See also Birch, *Cat. of Seals in the - - - - - British Museum*, ii, 264–65.

## 3. RANULF III ("DE BLUNDEVILLE"), EARL OF CHESTER, *c.* A.D. 1202/29.

[Rylands Ch. 1783.] Bronze-green wax. 75 mm. in diameter. The edges are chipped, but the device is not affected. Fine impression.

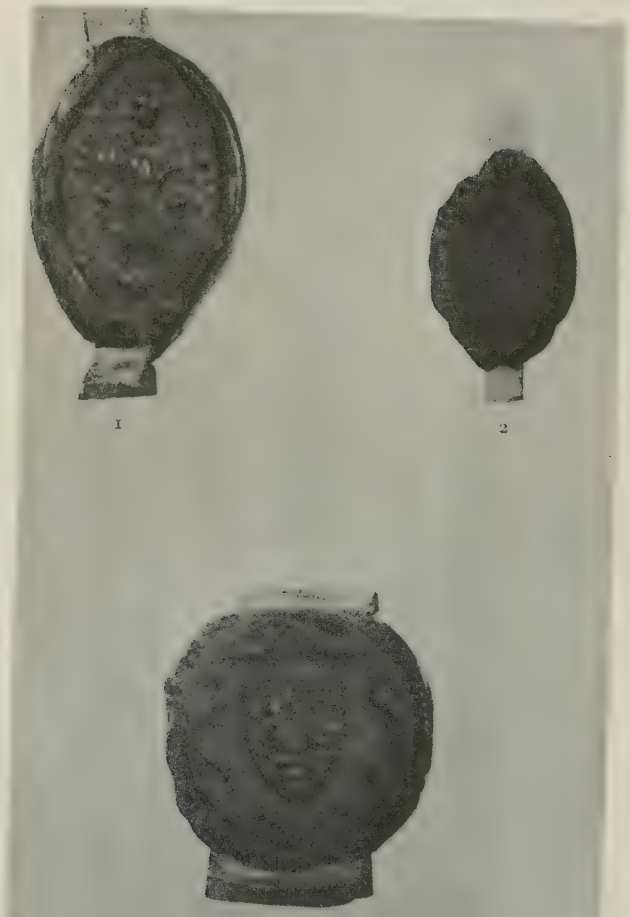


1

2

1. Ranulf II, Earl of Chester, A.D. 1120 &c.
2. Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, *c.* A.D. 1300

Plate I.



1

2

3

1. Adam de Stanford, Archdeacon of Chester, A.D. 1272-74
2. The Officiality of the Archdeaconry of Chester, A.D. 1484.
3. Chester Exchequer Seal of the Black Prince, A.D. 1349.

Plate II.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A heater-shaped shield on which is a lion rampant.

✠ SIGILL - - - - - - - - F - - - MIT - - : CES - - - E :

See Helsby's edition of Ormerod, vol. i (1882), pp. 33 (ill.), 41; Planché, *op. cit.*, p. 244 (ill.); James Tait, *The Chartulary or Register of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester*, part i (Chetham Soc., vol. 79), pp. (xvii), 72; C. H. Blair, "Durham Seals" (ap. *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd Ser., vol. 7), p. 335 and pl. IX (no. 584).

## 4. CHESTER EXCHEQUER SEAL OF THE BLACK PRINCE AS EARL OF CHESTER, A.D. 1349. (Pl. II, fig. 3.)

[Rylands Ch. 1283.] Uncoloured, yellowish-brown wax. 42 mm. in diameter. Perfect save for a little chipping of the edges, affecting the legend slightly. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

An upright shield of arms: three leopards of England, over all a label of five points. Within a carved Gothic panel of eight cusps, ornamented with ball-flowers along the inner edge.

[⋆ SIG]ILL' ⁂ EDWARDI ⁂ FIL' ⁂ REGIS ⁂ ANGL' ⁂ C[OMITI]S ⁂ CES[TR'].

For photographs, from examples in the P.R.O., see Tout, *Chapters in Medieval Administrative History*, vol. v, pl. V, fig. 1; R. C. Fowler, "Seals in the Public Record Office" (ap. *Archaeologia*, vol. 74), pl. 34, no. 63. Another seal of the Black Prince, applied to a pass granted in 1355 to William Jodrell, one of his Cheshire archers, is described in the Library BULLETIN, vol. 7 (Margaret Sharp, "A Jodrell Deed and the Seals of the Black Prince"); it was not included in the Jodrell deeds deposited in the Library. For the Black Prince's seals see Sharp, *op. cit.*; Tout, *op. cit.*, pp. 421 *sqq.* and the references there.

## 5. A PRIVY SEAL OF THE BLACK PRINCE, A.D. 1351.

[Rylands Ch. 1334.] Red wax. 40 mm. in diameter. Perfect save for a slight chipping of the legend. Good impression, with a number of the details rubbed.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

An upright shield of arms : quarterly, 1, 4, France (ancient), 2, 3, England, over all a label of three points. Within an elaborately-carved Gothic panel of eight cusps with ball-flower ornaments, the cuspings being pierced with tracery. In the cusp above the shield is a diminutive lion rampant, and in the cusps to the left and right an oak-branch, placed horizontally.

[S'Edw]ardi P'mogēiti Regis Angl' ⁊ Franc' P'ncipis Wall' Ducis Cornub' ⁊ Comi[t' Cestr'].

Another example, imperfect but showing a fine impression, is attached to Rylands Phillipps Ch. 23 (A.D. 1347), for which see B. Wilkinson, " A Letter to Louis de Male, Count of Flanders," in the Library BULLETIN, vol. 9. For a photograph from an example in the Public Record Office, see Tout, *op. cit.*, vol. v, pl. V, fig. 2. An illustration of another example, attached to a certificate respecting Thomas de Prayers of Barthomley, co. Chester, is given in *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 14 (1857), p. 351. The shield is inadvertently described as *couché* in Birch, *op. cit.*, no. 5558 (a plaster cast). See also Tout, *op. cit.*, p. 422 and the references there.

## 6. HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, DUKE OF AQUITAINE, LANCASTER AND CORNWALL, EARL OF CHESTER (AFTERWARDS KING HENRY V), A.D. 1399.

[Rylands Ch. 1309.] Red wax. 70 mm. in diameter, when complete. Imperfect, somewhat more than the left half only having survived. Fine impression.

On a tongue $6\frac{4}{5}$" long and 1" broad, the top of the seal being $2\frac{1}{5}$" from the root. Backed with paper cut to the shape of the seal.

A shield of arms *couché :* quarterly, 1, 4, France (ancient), 2, 3, England, over all a label of three points. Surmounted by a closed helm, with mantling, above which, on a cap of estate, is the crowned lion crest of England gorged with a label of three points. In the field on the left, a swan, crowned on the neck and chained, [supporting a labelled ostrich feather in its mouth ;

here lacking]. The remainder of the seal, including the right supporter, is missing.

S' ✠ Ben[rici - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - A]quitan ✠ lancaſtr' ✠ cornu[ - - - - co]mit' ✠ ceſtr'.

The legend is on a belt, of which the buckle and tongue are at the bottom of the seal. The head of the lion crest extends into the top of the belt, where it separates the beginning and end of the legend.

Beaded borders.

Another example of this seal, also imperfect, is attached to Ryl. Ch. 1310 (A.D. 1400). Cf. Fowler, *op. cit.*, p. 115 and pl. 34 (no. 62).

## 7. HENRY DE LACY, [3rd] EARL OF LINCOLN, CONSTABLE OF CHESTER, *c.* A.D. 1300. (Pl. I, fig. 2.)

[Rylands Ch. 1266.] Dark-green wax. 60 mm. in diameter. Perfect save for some chipping of the legend on the obverse. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø. An equestrian figure, galloping to the right, wearing a plumed helmet with vizor closed, hauberk of mail and surcoat. Sword, held at an angle towards the body, in the hand of the extended right arm. On the left arm, held close to the body, is a shield of arms, slung with a strap over the right shoulder: quarterly, a bend, over all in chief a label of three points. The horse is caparisoned, its flank-cloth being in the shape of a shield of arms, charged as above. The horse's fore-legs, hind-legs and ears and the rider's sword and helmet project into the space reserved for the legend.

S' HENRICI DE LACI COMIT' LIN[COLN]IE ET [CONSTABVLAR' CE]STR'.

Rȝ. A small counter-seal in red (*sic*) wax, 20 mm. in diameter. An upright shield of arms as on the obverse, between two garbs (for Chester), surrounded by the following legend, within beaded borders: ✠ SECRETVM : HENRICI : DE : LACI.

Another example of this fine seal is described in Birch, *op. cit.*, no. 6159, with illustration (pl. XI). Birch's suggested reading of the legend on the reverse is confirmed by the Rylands seal.

## 8. COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER, A.D. 1531.

[Rylands Ch. 916.] Uncoloured, brownish-yellow wax. 90 mm. in diameter. Perfect, with a repairing in one place. Good impression. Shows marks of the studs or pins used to steady the matrix.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø. The King, armed *cap-à-pie*, on horseback, galloping to the right. In plate-armour, with closed helmet, cap of maintenance, and crowned lion crest. His right arm is extended and bent almost at right angles at the elbow ; in the hand is a heavy sword, held at an angle towards the body. In the left hand is a shield of arms, showing front view, slung with a strap over the right shoulder : the Royal Arms of England as borne by King Henry VIII. The horse is caparisoned and has a plume of three feathers on its head ; its tail is extended. The bearings of the caparisons are the same as those of the shield. The background of the device is diapered in a lozenge pattern, with a fleur-de-lys at each intersection and an ostrich feather in each space. A heavy border, ornamented with ball-flowers or quatrefoils along the inner edge, separates the device from the legend.

Sig' ‡ henrici ‡ dei ‡ gra̅ ‡ regis ‡ angl' ‡ et ‡ ffranc' ‡ ℟ ‡ dn̅i ‡ hib'n' ‡ comitatus ‡ palatini [a sprig of foliage] sui ceistre [*sic*, followed by a sprig of foliage].

R/. An upright shield of arms : per pale, *dex.*, as on the obverse ; *sin.*, three garbs (Chester). Above is a covered crown of five roses and four fleurs-de-lys, alternately. Supporters, two dragons, sitting, addorsed, each holding an ostrich feather with label inscribed : ich dien. The heavy border between the device and the legend is ornamented along the inner edge with ball-flowers or quatrefoils.

Sigill' ‡ henrici ‡ dei ‡ gra̅ ‡ regis ‡ angl' : ℟ : franc' : ℟ : dn̅i ‡ hib'nie ‡ comitatus : palati̅ : sui : ceistre [*sic*].

Two other examples of this seal in the Library, although slightly imperfect (the legend only, in each case, is affected), show particularly fine impressions ; they are attached to Tatton Ch. 543 and 558. The sulphur cast described by Birch, *op. cit.*,

no. 4802, shows some differences in the legend compared with the Rylands seals, notably in the style. On the Palatinate seals of Chester see Hilary Jenkinson, "The Great Seal of England: Deputed or Departmental Seals" (ap. *Archaeologia*, vol. 85), pp. 332–33.

## 9. COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER AND COUNTY OF FLINT. JAMES I, A.D. 1603.

[Mainwaring Ch. 405.] Uncoloured, light-yellow wax. 95 mm. in diameter. Perfect. Good impression. Shows marks of the studs or pins used to steady the matrix.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø. The King on horseback, galloping to the left, on a mount replenished with herbage and flowers. Armed *cap-à-pie* in plate armour, with cuirass, closed helmet and gauntlets. The helmet is ensigned with the royal crown and from it fly backwards, falling down the King's back, three short and two long ostrich feathers. In his right hand he brandishes a sword with a blade short in proportion to the large, heavy hilt; the blade passes behind his crown. In his left hand are the reins. The horse wears a stiff caparison, the details of which are not clear. Its neck and forehead are protected by plate armour and a projecting spike, and on its head is an aigrette and a plume of four ostrich feathers; its long, flowing tail is bound with three fillets at the root.

⚜ SIGILLVM ❀ IACOBI ❀ DEI ❀ GRACIA ❀ ANGLIÆ ❀ SCOTIÆ ❀ FRANCIÆ ❀ ET ❀ HIBERNIÆ ❀ REGIS ❀ FIDEI ❀ DEF ❀

Rℐ. An upright shield of arms: per pale, *dex.*, the Royal Arms of King James I, with a label of three points; *sin.*, three garbs (Chester). Above is a royal crown, jewelled, with three crosses paty and two fleurs-de-lys. The supporters are two dragons, sitting, addorsed, each holding in one paw an ostrich feather.

COMITATVS ❀ PALATINI ❀ SVI ❀ CESTRIÆ ❀ ET ❀ COMITATVS ❀ SVI ❀ FLINT ❀ A° ❀ DNI ❀ 1603 [continued from the obverse].

The borders are carved.

This seal is attached to a document dated A.D. 1604. See also Birch, *op. cit.*, no. 4808 and illustration (pl. V).

## 10. COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER AND COUNTY OF FLINT. CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES, DUKE OF CORNWALL AND YORK, EARL OF CHESTER (AFTERWARDS CHARLES I), A.D. 1616.

[Mainwaring Ch. 429.] Uncoloured, yellowish-brown wax. 95 mm. in diameter. A little imperfect and chipped. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø. On horseback, galloping to the left. Armed *cap-à-pie* in plate armour, with cuirass, closed helmet ensigned with a coronet, plume of five ostrich feathers (three short and two long) falling down his back, scabbard and gauntlets. In his right hand he brandishes a sword, the blade passing behind his head. In his left hand, held at waist level, is a shield of arms, front view: three garbs (Chester). The horse wears a stiff caparison, the pattern being a diaper lozengy with, alternately, an ostrich feather and a garb in each space, an ornament at each intersection, and a border composed of roses and fleurs-de-lys, alternately disposed. On the horse's head is an aigrette and a plume of four ostrich feathers; its tail, which is long and flowing, is bound at the root with a wide fillet of diaper lozengy pattern.

[SIGILL]VM ❀ CAROLI ❀ PRINCIPIS ❀ WALLIÆ ❀ DUCIS ❀ CORNVBI[Æ ❀ ET ❀ EBORVM ❀ ET ❀ COMITIS ❀ CESTRIÆ].

Rℽ. An upright shield of arms, charged as on the obverse. Above is a jewelled coronet of four fleurs-de-lys and five pearls on rays, alternately disposed. The supporters are two sitting dragons, addorsed, each holding an ostrich feather.

⚜ CO[MITATV]S ❀ PALATINI ❀ SVI ❀ CESTRIÆ ❀ ET ❀ FLINT ❀ ANNO ❀ 1616 [continued from the obverse].

Carved borders.

This seal is attached to a document dated A.D. 1638. Another example, perfect but with a less fine impression, is attached to

Rylands Jodrell Charter 62*a* (A.D. 1626). See also Birch, *op. cit.*, no. 4809 and illustration (pl. V).

## 11. COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER AND COUNTY OF FLINT. CHARLES II, A.D. 1660.

[Jodrell Ch. 98.] Uncoloured, yellowish-brown wax. 90 mm. in diameter. Perfect. Fine impression, now a little rubbed.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø. The King, with head turned to show full face, on horseback, galloping to the left. Most of the details of his attire are rubbed. On his head is a plume of feathers, at his side a scabbard; a sash flows behind him, at waist level. His hands, gauntleted, are held in front of him; in the left hand are the reins, in the right is a sword held upright, the point penetrating into the space reserved for the legend, where it separates the N and S of DEFENS. The horse, which is left plain, is galloping on rising ground. In the field above its tail is an ornamental shield of arms: three garbs (Chester).

⚜SIGIL·CAROLI·II·DEI·GRATIA·MAG·BRITAN·FRAN·ET·HIB·REG·FIDEI·DEFENS

Rℐ. As the reverse of the preceding seal (no. 10), save that the tails of the dragons are intertwined.

⚜COMITATVS·PALATINI·SVI·CESTRIÆ·ET·FLINT·AN°·1660 [continued from obverse].

This seal is attached to a document dated A.D. 1671.

## 12. COUNTY PALATINE OF CHESTER AND COUNTY OF FLINT. WILLIAM III AND MARY II, A.D. 1689.

[Rylands Ch. 2102.] Uncoloured, yellowish-brown wax, *c.* 100 mm. in diameter. Perfect. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø and Rℐ. A copy of the preceding seal (no. 11), save that here the sword which penetrates into the space reserved for the legend on the obverse separates the D and E of the last (abbreviated) word.

Ø. ⚜ SIGIL : GVILIELMI ❀ III ❀ ET ❀ MARIÆ : II : DEI : GRA : MAG : BRI : FR : ET ❀ HI : REG : ET : REG : FI : DE :

R/. ⚜ COMITATVS ❀ PALATINI ❀ SVI ❀ CESTRIÆ ❀ ET ❀ FLINT ❀ AN ❀ 1689 [continued from the obverse].

This seal is attached to a document dated A.D. 1690.

## 13. BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF ST. WERBURGH, CHESTER, 10 SEPT. 1538.

[Rylands Ch. 1850.] Yellowish-white wax. Imperfect, consisting of a large fragment (*c.* 57 × 46 mm.) of the centre portion; when complete the seal would be *c.* 3″ long. Good impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø. A Gothic church shown in elaborate detail in elevation and section, with transepts and pinnacled tower, at the angles of which are flags. In the pediment of the tower is a countersunk trefoil enclosing a monk's head. On the base of the pediment is the following ornamentation, from left to right: a trefoil reversed, three lancet-shaped niches (or windows), and a trefoil. Under the tower arch, which is round-headed and has a cinquefoiled inner arch, is St. Werburgh, seated on a carved and cushioned throne, a pastoral staff in her right hand and in her left, which is held in front of her body, a book. The vertical face of the church on each side of the saint is divided into two sections, the first (i.e. the one nearer to the saint on each side) being of six panels of equal size with the following decoration, one in each, from top to bottom: three lancet-shaped niches, a pierced triangle, two lancet-shaped niches, a quatrefoil, one lancet-shaped niche, a trefoil. The second section (which is the face of the transept in each case) is lacking on the left but contained the same decoration as that on the right, namely, from top to bottom: three lancet-shaped niches; a monk's head enclosed in a quatrefoiled panel; and a monk standing beneath an arch, full-length and facing inwards, with hands clasped as if in prayer. On the carved plinth at the base of the seal is a quatrefoiled panel enclosing a monk's head, with

two lancet-shaped niches on either side. The remainder of the obverse, including the legend, is missing.

℟. A similar building. The pediment of the central tower is missing but its base remains, decorated with a quatrefoil between two lancet-shaped niches. Under the tower arch, which is round-headed and has a trefoiled inner arch, is a King with crown, seated on a carved and cushioned throne; in his right hand, which rests on his knee, is a sceptre fleury, in his left an orb surmounted by a cross. In each transept, separated from the King by a pillar, is a full-length figure, front view; on the left St. Peter, on the right St. Paul, each, with his usual emblems, standing under a trefoiled arch, above which is the base of the transept pediments, decorated in each case with three lancet-shaped niches. In a quatrefoil in the carved plinth at the base of the seal is a monk's head, on each side of which are three lancet-shaped niches. The remainder of the reverse, including the legend, is missing.

A drawing of the St. Werburgh seal, from an impression in the Augmentation Office, is given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii (1819), pl. XIII, and a photograph of another, earlier, example, less perfect than the one described above, will be found in Gale Pedrick, *Monastic Seals of the XIIIth Century*, pl. XIX. Shorter descriptions occur in Birch, *op. cit.*, no. 2913 (an imperfect sulphur cast), and Pedrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51. For suggested identifications of the King represented on the reverse see Birch, "On Some Manuscripts Relating to St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester, Preserved in the British Museum" (ap. *Journal of the Chester Arch. Soc.*, N.S. 3), p. 7; Pedrick, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

## 14. CHESTER CATHEDRAL. SEAL OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER, A.D. 1541.

[Tatton Ch. 1368.] Red wax. 80 mm. in diameter. Imperfect at the top, but only the legend is seriously affected; repaired in one place. Fine impression, a little rubbed in places.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Ø. On the left the Virgin, with large nimbus, reaching to her shoulders, facing front and wearing a cowl and long, flowing

robe, kneels in prayer behind a carved reading-desk, the front of which is ornamented with scrolled foliage and upon which rests an open book with clasps. Behind her is a closed window. To her left, under an ornamental canopy, stands our Lord, with cruciform nimbus, full length and facing front, wearing a long robe, the collar fastened at the front with an ornament ; the robe is drawn up to knee-height, the legs and feet being bare. In the right hand, held at His side, is a long cross. The left arm (which is badly out of perspective) is stretched across the body to the right side, and from the left hand a scroll flows across the left half of the device, passing over the Virgin's head. It bears the words : SALVE ⋆ SCT ⋆ PAR ENC. Set in the background between the two figures is a tall pillar ornamented with foliage decoration. The remainder of the seal, to our Lord's left, is filled with architectural details which here, as elsewhere on the obverse, are in Renaissance style. The floor is tiled.

[✠ SIGILLV̄ ⚜ COMVNE] ⚜ CATHED' ⚜ ECCLESIE ⚜ X̄PI ⚜ ET ⚜ BEATE ⚜ MAR[IE ⚜ CESTRIE ⚜ 1541.]

R/. Henry VIII, crowned, wearing royal robes and ermine tippet, and with sceptre and orb, seated on a carved throne, the canopy of which is supported by two slender, elaborately-carved pillars ; two roses and two fleurs-de-lys form the corners of a square enclosing the King's head on the back of the throne. On each side is a full-length figure with nimbus, facing front. The one on the King's right is wearing a long robe and tippet and carrying a sceptre and orb ; at the side of the right knee is the letter O (for " Oswaldus "). On the King's left is the Virgin, with crown and book, and the letter V (for " Virgo ") above her right foot. At the top of the seal, on each side of the canopy, are H.R. (left) and 8 (right). At the base two ecclesiastics, facing each other and looking upwards, kneel in prayer in the space reserved for the legend, their bodies extending into the device. Between them are the letters GP, and behind each the letter T (left) and D (right).

[FACTVM ⚜ ANNO] ⚜ GRACIE ⚜ 1·5 [the two ecclesiastics] 4·1 ·10 ⚜ DIE ⚜ IVLII [⚜ ANNO ⚜ H EN : 43 (*sic*).]

This seal is attached to a document dated A.D. 1549. Two other examples, both in red wax and each consisting of a large

fragment only, but showing a fine impression, are in the Library ; they are attached to Tatton Ch. 413 (A.D. 1542) and Mainwaring Ch. 344 (A.D. 1542). A facsimile of a drawing from another example by Hugh Cholmondeley, Dean of Chester, is given in Helsby's edition of Ormerod, vol. i (1882), p. 265 ; this shows one or two minor differences from the Rylands seals, but these are almost certainly due to careless drawing. A sulphur cast from a chipped impression is described in Birch, *Cat. of Seals in the - - - - - British Museum*, no. 2432, where it is stated that the scroll on the obverse bears the words : SALVE ⋆ $\overline{\text{SCA}}$ ⋆ PAR. REG. The lettering cited above from the Rylands seal (SCT for Birch's $\overline{\text{SCA}}$, and ENC for his REG ; Cholmondeley reads INC) is confirmed by a description made in 1878, " after close inspection " of the matrix itself at Chester, to settle a similar difference (see *The Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. i, pp. 26, 50 and, particularly, 53–54). Birch, *loc. cit.*, has a note on the obviously incorrect regnal year (43 Henry VIII) given in the legend on the reverse.

## 15. JOHN BIRD, 1ST BISHOP OF CHESTER, A.D. 1549.

[Tatton Ch. 1368.] Red wax. A pointed oval, measuring 70 × 47 mm. Slightly imperfect at the bottom, but the legend only is affected. The device shows a good impression, somewhat rubbed in places ; the impression of the legend has slipped in one place.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

A carved, double-arched niche of late style, with a slender pillar at each side. On the left, our Lord, with nimbus, his right hand raised and in his left hand an orb. On the right, the Virgin, with nimbus and rays of glory, her hands clasped in front as if in prayer. Both figures are full length and facing front, in long robes. Above the head of each hovers a bird, presumably a dove. In the base, between two sprigs of foliage, is an ornamental shield of arms, the upper portion of which is illegible. On the lower portion is clearly visible a pastoral staff in bend dexter crossed by a mace in bend sinister.

✠ SIGILLV[M - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ] ✠ DEI ✠ GRA ✠ CESTREN' ✠ EPISCOPI ✠

A rough drawing of another, imperfect, example of this seal, attached to a deed then in the possession of Sir Philip Egerton, is given by the Rev. W. H. Massie in his " Remarks on the History of Seals, with Local Illustrations " (ap. *Journal of the Chester Arch. Soc.*, vol. i), plate facing p. 164, fig. 5. Mr. Massie notes that the device is " in evident allusion to the title of the cathedral, changed from St. Werburgh to ' Christ and the Virgin Mary ' " (*ib.* and p. 176). Bird's arms are given as : " Sable, a mace or in bend dexter, crossed by a pastoral staff in bend sinister argent headed or, on a chief argent three shovellers sable," in Bedford's *The Blazon of Episcopacy*, 2nd edn., p. 147 ; also cited by Rev. F. Sanders, " John Bird, D.D., Bishop of Chester, 1541–1554 " (ap. *Journal of the Chester Arch. Soc.*, N.S., vol. xiii), p. 124. On the Rylands seal, however, the pastoral staff and mace are quite clearly the other way round, as described above. It is interesting to note that John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester from 1668 to 1672, also had as the device on his seal a niche of late style containing our Lord with nimbus and orb and the Virgin with rays of glory, with a shield of arms in the base (see Birch, *Cat.* no. 2420, a sulphur cast).

## 16. ADAM DE STANFORD, ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER, A.D. 1272/74. (Pl. II, fig. 1.)

[Rylands Ch. 1421.] Brown wax. A pointed oval, measuring 40 × 25 mm. Perfect, with a repaired crack in one place. Fine impression.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

The Archdeacon, full length and facing front, standing on a corbel which exhibits some sculptured work. Before his breast he holds a closed book, his right hand on the top of it, his left hand beneath it. In the field on each side of him is a star (at shoulder level), a crescent (at elbow level) and, much larger, a garb (at knee height).

✯ S' : ADE : D' : STANFORD : ARCHID' : CESTRIE, within beaded borders.

In his paper on " Seals of Archdeacons " (ap. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Ser., vol. xv), p. 28, St. John Hope mentions a seal of " Adam, archdeacon of Chester (1252)," but does not give details.

## 17. THE OFFICIALITY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF CHESTER, A.D. 1384. (Pl. II, fig. 2.)

[Rylands Ch. 1319.] Green wax. A pointed oval, measuring 35 × 23 mm. Perfect, save for a little chipping which does not affect the legibility of the legend or the device. Fine impression.

On a tongue $6\frac{4}{8}$" long and $\frac{5}{16}$" broad, the top of the seal being $3\frac{7}{10}$" from the root. Underneath is a narrow tie.

The device is divided into two about two-thirds way down by a trefoiled arch. In the upper portion is a half figure, facing front, his body, which is very narrow waisted, issuing from the top of the centre arch, his head projecting into the space reserved for the legend at the top of the seal, where it separates the beginning and end of the legend. He wears a tall cap and tight-fitting, high-collared garment marked down the front with two parallel stripes, above which is a cape-like garment, the ends falling on each side of him into a cone-shaped pattern. His hands are crossed in front at waist level. Above each side arch is an annulet. In the lower portion of the device is a garb (for Chester) under the centre arch, between on the dexter the forepart of a lion, on the sinister its forked tail.

S' OFFICIALITATIS : CESTRIE

Beaded borders.

The whole appearance is of fineness and delicacy and the seal is thin and wafer-like. An imperfect example of A.D. 1343 is described by Mr. Hunter Blair in his " Durham Seals " (ap. *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd Ser., vol. 15), p. 115. The Rev. W. H. Massie (*op. cit.*, pl. facing p. 165, fig. 4) gives a rough sketch of a later " seal of the office of Archdeacon of Chester," dated 30 Henry VI (A.D. 1451/2), from a deed then in the possession of Sir Philip Egerton. Although this bears a general resemblance to the Rylands seal and the Durham seal, it differs in the legend and in that portion of the device above the arch, where is a large

garb instead of the half figure described above. Mr. Massie appears to be in error here; the half figure, if badly rubbed, would have the superficial appearance of a garb.

## 18. CHESTER: PRIVY SEAL OF THE MAYOR, A.D. 1462.

[Rylands Ch. 1619.] Red wax. 45 mm. in diameter. Imperfect, but only the legend is seriously affected. Fair impression, somewhat rubbed.

On a tongue $6\frac{1}{5}$″ long and $1\frac{3}{10}$″ broad, the top of the seal being $1\frac{4}{5}$″ from the root. Underneath is a narrow tie.

An upright shield of arms, suspended by a strap [from a loop]: England, with a label of five points. At each side, inclined at the angle of the sides of the shield, is a garb (for Chester).

✠ S[IGILLVM : SE]CRETI : M[AIORIS : C]ESTRI[E :]

An illustration, from a silver matrix owned in the middle of last century by a Mr. Broster of Chester and "now in the possession of the Corporation, having a few years since been recovered by John Walker, Esq., the Town Clerk," is given in Helsby's edition of Ormerod, vol. i (1882), p. 204. See also Birch, *Cat.*, no. 4812 (13th cent., sulphur cast).

## 19. STATUTE MERCHANT SEAL OF CHESTER, A.D. 1589.

[Rylands Ch. 1530.] Brownish-red wax. 44 mm. in diameter. Perfect. Good impression, somewhat rubbed. The wax has overlapped the legend in one place on the obverse.

On a tongue 7″ long and 3″ broad, the top of the seal being 1″ from the root.

Ø. King's bust, full face, beardless, with long side curls; crowned with an open crown of three fleurons. Round his neck is an ornamented line, which may represent either a necklace or, more probably, an embroidered collar. On his breast is a leopard of England. In the field on each side, at shoulder level, is a small castle with a central tower and battlements surmounting the walls on both sides.

S'. [- - - - RE]G'. ANGL' : AD RECOGN'. DEBITOR' APD' : CE[ST]RIAM ; this legend is preceded by a garb.

Beaded borders.

Rℨ. At right angles to the impression on the obverse, a shield, hexagonal, within a beaded border of the same shape, measuring 23 × 40 mm. On the shield : a sword between two garbs. No legend.

An illustration from the obverse, only, of a matrix owned in the middle of last century by the Mr. Broster referred to in the note to no. 18 above, is given in Helsby's edition of Ormerod, vol. i (1882), p. 204. The sketch by the Rev. W. H. Massie (*op. cit.*, pl. facing p. 164 ; see also *ib.*, p. 176) and the brief description by C. S. Perceval (ap. *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Ser., vol. 7, p. 114) were also made from Mr. Broster's matrix. These, too, are of the obverse only, as is also the short description, from a sulphur cast, given by Birch (*Cat.*, no. 1070), who refers to Mr. Massie. See also *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Ser., vol. 15, p. 66.

## 20. THE EARL OF DERBY, AS STEWARD OF THE HALMOTE COURT OF MACCLESFIELD, A.D. 1376.

[Jodrell Ch. 7.] Red wax. 29 mm. in diameter. Perfect. Fine impression of the device ; the legend has been carelessly impressed in places, but is legible.

Pendent from a doubled strip of parchment.

Three human legs in armour conjoined at the upper part of the thighs, flexed in a triangle, garnished and spurred (Isle of Man), between as many eagles' legs erased (badge of Stanley).

Sigillū thome Comit' de derbei Seneſcall' de Macclesfeld.

Carved borders.

Another example of this seal, perfect and showing exactly the same device and legend, is attached to Jodrell Ch. 41 (A.D. 1529). Earwaker, in his *East Cheshire*, vol. ii (1880), p. 8, has a full-size illustration of another example, again identical in device and legend with the above, from a charter of A.D. 1532 then owned by Mr. Holland Hulley of Macclesfield ; he

comments (*ib.*, p. 8 note), " It is the most perfect specimen of this curious seal which I have met with, for, as a rule, they are generally broken or illegible." The seal described by Birch (*Cat.*, no. 13,665 ; dated A.D. 1485/1504) reads "Seneſcball" in the legend, but otherwise agrees with the examples cited here in both legend and device ; he notes that the device provides an interesting example of the combination of heraldic charges not on a shield. See also St. John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers*, p. 183.

# THE DAWN OF THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

BY THE EDITOR.

## II.

### THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD.

ANOTHER achievement of the Revival was the Discovery of the New World, which is represented by the exploration of the Far East by Marco Polo of Venice, who died in 1324, by the exploration of the Western Seas by the old mariners of Genoa, beginning with those who first found the Canary Islands, and culminating, in 1492, with the great name of Christopher Columbus.[1]

This discovery of America opened up a new world to the energies of mankind.

The period is marked by the increasing interest in geography which is exemplified by the fact that the first modern map of Italy is said to have been drawn under the direction of Petrarch, also by the new attention to natural history which led to the creation of botanical and zoological gardens, and by the keener susceptibility to the beauties of nature, which may readily be traced in Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, in Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, and others.

[1] Although it is true to say that in 1492 Christopher Columbus added a new world to European commerce and civilization, it must also be said that the Western Hemisphere, to which Columbus opened the way, had been visited by voyagers from the older world six hundred years earlier.

The Norsemen effected settlements not only in the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, but in Northern Scotland, Northumbria and Ireland; and when their long clinker-built boats of stout Norwegian oak had been well tested in violent seas, these wonderful mariners performed feats more daring still and unsurpassed in the annals of seafaring men. Iceland and the Faroes were claimed and settled. The Atlantic was crossed, and these long Viking warships driven by oar and sail planted colonies on the bleak coast of Greenland and explored the North Atlantic coast six hundred years before Columbus explored the North American coast.

In 1499 Amerigo Vespucci, a son of Florence, took part in the discovery of Venezuela, and wrote in Italian to the Duke Lorenzo de Medici a description of his voyages, which was probably first printed in 1502, under the title "De novo mundo". This description was translated into Latin by Fra Giocondo, and published at Strassburg by Martin Waldseemüller in 1505, and again in 1507. It was in the edition printed in 1507 the first suggestion was made that the newly discovered continent should be named America.

In this volume Amerigo makes a vainglorious display of his classical learning in the form of quotations from Pliny, Vergil, and Aristotle. But, as all the world knows, seven years before Amerigo saw the coast of Venezuela, the Atlantic had been crossed and the Islands of the West Indies had been reached by the greatest representative of the age of discovery, Christopher Columbus.

It has been often asked whether in any way Columbus was inspired by the classics to make his great discovery. It may have been that the description of the last voyage of Ulysses in the 26th canto of Dante's "Inferno", where the Greek mariners who through a hundred thousand perils were come into the West, and are described as impelled by the glowing language of their heroic leader to pass beyond the pillars of Hercules and, turning their backs to the morning, to follow the sun for the space of seven moons until they find themselves under a new sky and unfamiliar stars, inspired Columbus. But apparently Dante's description has no classical origin. It is thought possible that the inspiration may have been due to Plato's "Atlantis", and it is further suggested that Columbus was convinced of the possibilities of finding a new route across the ocean by the study of Strabo and Ptolemy at the University of Pavia, or at the school of his native city of Genoa. But there seems to be more reason in the suggestion that it was from the work entitled *Imago Mundi*, written by Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai in 1410, that Columbus obtained the citations from classical authors in support of his plan for finding the Indies by sailing to the West.

Besides the Greek and Latin passages in the *Imago Mundi*,

Columbus used a collation of such passages made for him by a Carthusian monk of Seville named Father Gorricio, which included quotations from Seneca and Pliny. His correspondence with the monk is preserved at Seville in the library founded by his son. The most famous of the texts is the prophetic passage of Seneca in the chorus of the tragedy of *Medea*, and it is interesting to learn that in the copy of Seneca preserved at Seville, the son of Columbus has stated, in the margin of this passage, that the prophecy had been fulfilled by his father.

Here is the prophetic passage :—

"Venient annis saecula seris
Quibus oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Tiphysque novos detegat orbes,
Nec sit terris ultima Thule."[1]

Hence, may we not say that but for the revival of classical learning America might not have been discovered when it was?

The life of Columbus is full of romance. He hawked about his notion of the way of India to all the courts of Europe. By birth a Genoese, he considered the great ocean the patrimony of any person able to seize it. When his own country rejected his proposal, he turned successively to Portugal, to Spain, and to England. Our Henry VII was inclined to venture a small sum in this lottery of chances, but while still in negotiation with the brother of Columbus, the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella closed with the navigator's terms, and on the 3rd of August, 1492, the squadron of discovery, consisting of a vessel of some size and two small pinnaces, with a crew at most of a hundred men, sailed from the port of Palos in Andalusia. Three weeks of constant progress to the westward took them far beyond all previous navigation. The men became disheartened, discontented, and finally rebellious. Against all Columbus bore up

[1] "In distant days the circling Main
At length shall loosen Nature's chain,
And a vast continent unseal;
Old Ocean shall New Worlds reveal,
And far off Thule shall be found
To be no more earth's utmost bound."

with the self-relying energy of a great mind, but was driven to the compromise of promising that, if they confided in him for three days longer, he would return if the object of the voyage was yet unattained. But by this time his sagacious observation had assured him of success. Strange appearances began to be perceived from the ship's decks. A carved piece of wood floated by, then a reed newly cut, and best of all a branch with red berries still fresh.

From all these symptoms Columbus was so confident of being near land that on the evening of the 11th of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered all sails to be furled and the ships to lie to, keeping strict watch lest they should be driven ashore in the night.

During this interval of suspense and expectation no man shut his eyes, all kept on deck gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land. About two hours before midnight Columbus observed a light in the distance which seemed to be in motion as if carried from place to place. A little before midnight the joyful sound "Land, land", was heard from the *Pinta*, which always kept ahead of the other ships.

But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was sceptical, and waited in the anguish of uncertainty and impatience for the return of day. As morning dawned all doubts and fears were dispelled, for from every ship land was seen about two leagues to the North, a land whose flat verdant fields, watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of delightful country.

The crew of the *Pinta* began the *Te Deum* as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships with tears of joy and transports of congratulation.

This office of gratitude to Heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity and insolence, and in the warmth of their admiration they pronounced the man they had so lately reviled and threatened to be a person inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude

more than human, in order to accomplish a design so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

The great event of establishing connexion between the two worlds occurred on the 12th of October, 1492. Columbus first landed at San Salvador, one of the Bahamas, and after attaching Cuba and Hispaniola to the Spanish Crown, and going through imminent perils of sea and land, he achieved his glorious return to Palos on the 15th of March, 1493. He carried with him some of the natives of the different islands he had discovered as vouchers for the facts he stated.

The whole town, when he came into harbour, was in an uproar of delight. Bells were rung, cannons were fired, and Columbus was received at landing with royal honours, and all the people accompanied him and his crew to the church to return thanks to Heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted and crowned with success a voyage of greater length and importance than had ever been attempted in any former age.

The first report or letter in which Columbus announced his discovery of America to the King of Spain was written in Spanish, and was undated. The original of this letter seems not to have survived, but it was printed on two leaves in folio at Barcelona by Pedro Posa, probably about the middle of the month of April, 1493.

Of this edition no copy was known until 1856, when the first copy came to light in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, and it was not until 1890 that a copy of the second edition of the letter, printed at Valladolid by Pietro Giraldi and Miguel de Peanes, on four leaves in quarto, was discovered, and is now preserved in the Lenox Collection of the New York Public Library.

It would appear that the original letter came into the hands of Leandro de Cosco of Naples, who translated it into Latin and presented it to Leonardo de Corbaria, Bishop of Montepeloso, who wrote an epigram which was appended to the end of the Latin edition. The opening paragraph of this edition may be described as follows :

¶ Epistola Christofori Colom: cui ẽtas nostra multũ debet: de | Insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inuẽtis. Ad quas pergren | das octauo antea mense auspiciis ℨ ere inuictissemoꝝ Fernãdi z | Helisabet Hispaniaꝝ

Regũ missus fuerat : ad magnificum dñm | Gabrielem Sanchis eorundē serenissimo ℣ Regum Tesaurariũ | missa : quã nobilis ac litteratus vir Leander de Cosco ab Hispa | no idiomate in latinum cõuertit tertio kal's Maii . M.cccc.xciii | Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo. 4 leaves in Quarto.

The editio princeps of this Latin translation lacks the name of the printer, place, or year of publication, but it was printed in Rome by Stephen Plannck, after the 29th of April, 1493.

Six editions of this Latin translation are known, all of which end with the epigram of the Bishop of Montepeloso.

Two editions were printed by Stephen Plannck at Rome; other editions were printed at Basle by Michael Furter, at Antwerp by Thierry Martens, at Paris by Guy Marchant, and again at Rome by Eucharius Silber.

## III.

### A NEW SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

Yet another achievement of the Revival was the introduction of a new system of education, which was to revolutionise the existing methods and inaugurate an entirely more human and liberal system.

This new system, which was based upon classical models, was introduced by four scholars of whom we may speak as humanist educators.

The first, Pietro Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444), in 1392, addressed to a Prince of Padua, which was his native city, the first treatise in which the claims of learning Latin are maintained as an essential part of a liberal education. He began by observing that a parent owes to his children three duties : firstly, to give them suitable Christian names of which they would never be ashamed ; secondly, to have them brought up in some famous city ; and thirdly, to take care that they are educated in graver liberal studies. He combines an enthusiasm for the classics with a religious feeling that is reverent without being superstitious. He objects to desultory reading, while he emphasises the importance of wide reading concentrated on one special subject.

Another suggestion Vergerio makes is that a clock should be so placed in every library that it may catch the eye of the readers, and by reminding them of the flight of time warn them of the need of diligence; also that the library should be used for no other purpose than that for which it is designed.

Vergerio was not yet versed in the Greek language, and he deplores the fact that this noble Greek tongue, once the almost daily speech of our race, as familiar as the Latin language itself, is on the point of perishing even among its own sons, and to us Italians, he goes on to say, it is already utterly lost unless we except one or two in our time who are endeavouring to rescue something of it from oblivion.

The prince to whom this treatise was written caught some of its enthusiasm, and in 1400, when more than fifty years of age, he went to Florence to learn Greek from Chrysoloras, the first Greek teacher to attract his pupils to the study of Plutarch, and in 1415 he witnessed the death of his great teacher.

It was in the following year that Poggio Bracciolini made his first discovery at St. Gallen of the complete copy of Quintilian on the training of an orator.[1] This work and the treatise by Plutarch on the bringing up of children[2] had the most important influence on the theory and practice of education in the Revival.

The result of these attempts to revive ancient learning was to call forth a protest from certain representatives of the Church, and it was in reply to those protests that another student of Chrysoloras, Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo, who had recently been made a papal secretary, translated into Latin, in or about 1405, the little work of St. Basil on the profit to be derived from pagan literature,[3] and wrote the earliest humanist tract on education, expressly addressed to Baptista de Malatesti di Montafeltro, the daughter of the Duke of Urbino.

In suggesting to his fair correspondent a course of reading, Bruni insists upon the supreme importance of all that conduces to morality and religion. He finds room for philosophy, for the

[1] " De liberis educandis." Translated by Guarino of Verona, *Brescia*, 1485.

[2] " Institutiones oratoriae ", [*Treviso*, 1480], etc.

[3] " Oratio ad adolescentes de legendis antiquorum seu gentilium libris ", [1474?].

art of clever conversation, and even for a range of Latin literature that includes the greatest of the Christian Fathers as well as the best of the classics.

The course suggested comprises such Christian writers as Lactantius and St. Augustine, among the classes in history Pliny, Sallust, Curtius, and Cæsar, in oratory Cicero, and in poetry Vergil, with which every educated lady must show herself thoroughly familiar. In the ancient poets she may study the noble examples of constancy and devotion in the stories of Penelope and Alcestis.

The third treatise was written by Maffeo Vegio [1] some years before his death, which took place in 1458. As a boy of twelve, at Mantua, he was taken by his tutor to hear the stirring discourses of Bernardino of Siena, but his early impressions faded away for a time while he studied law at Pavia, and wrote pagan poetry at Milan. The most popular of his poems was on the theme of the latest exploits and death of Æneas which he did not blush to describe as the thirteenth book of the *Æneid*. Hitherto he had regarded Vergil as an almost divine being, but a change came over his opinions, and he found delight in a study of the "Confessions" of St. Augustine, although his earlier reverence for Vergil left its mark on the educational treatise.

His treatise was not addressed to any person in particular. It is meant for the perusal of parents and teachers in general. Of the six books the first is on the duties of parents. It follows somewhat on the lines of Vergerio, and protests against boys being baptised under such unsuitable names as Cicero, Brutus, Naso or Maro. He discourses on moral and physical training, and raises his voice against all excess in corporal punishment. He suggests authors and favours the early and simultaneous study of a variety of subjects which may be followed later by the special study of one or two. He touches on music, drawing, gymnastics, and games in general, with a warning against games of chance and dancing.

He breaks new ground on the moral education of girls: they are not to be allowed to converse with fops or dandies, or with strange girls who are fond of foreign perfumes.

[1] "De educatione liberorum et eorum claris moribus Libri VI," 1491.

The whole treatise is characterised by a recognition of the united claims of religion and learning—mental culture apart from morality is as much disapproved as mere morality apart from mental culture.

Vegio's death took place in the second year of the Pontificate of Pius II. Eight years before this time the Pope under his earlier name of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini had also composed a short treatise on education.[1]

Æneas Sylvius (1405-64) made his mark as an orator at the Council of Basle, after which he became Bishop of Trieste and Secretary to the Emperor Frederick III. His interest in the Emperor's youthful ward Ladislas, the young King of Bohemia and Hungary, then but ten years of age, led to his inditing a formal letter on the proper education of a prince. The suggestions and advice are of the broadest and most liberal character. The prince must study letters, philosophy and religion. In preparing for the eternal life beyond the tomb he must study not only the great doctors of the Church but also the poets and other authors of antiquity, who are saturated with the same faith, and for this reason deserve study. In composition he must aim at euphony and grace, but first and foremost he will choose the word that will most exactly express his meaning. He must study etymology without relapsing into pedantry.

In studying the pagan poets, beginning with Homer and Vergil, he will not be deterred by any shallow churchman who denounces it as a waste of precious time. He goes on to recommend the authors to be studied, and after touching upon many other matters, points out that the art of writing must not be neglected. A prince need not write often, but he must learn to write legibly. It is no credit to a man that his signature is like the traces of a worm crawling over the paper.

The young prince to whom this letter was addressed died in 1457, at the age of eighteen, and failed to fulfil the prophecy of Æneas that it would be his destiny to defend Christendom against the Turk.

This great man, one of the first of the Humanists, when he was elected Pope, on surrendering the name of Æneas, assumed

[1] "De educatione puerorum" [*circa* 1471].

the papal name of Pius, in quaint remembrance of "Pius Æneas".

In a letter to his nephew he attaches great value to the learning of Latin. These are his words: "Without literature I do not know what you can be but a two-legged donkey, for without learning what is a man, however wealthy, however powerful he may be? No man, neither nobleman, nor king, nor general is of any worth if he is ignorant of letters."

These theories of education were carried into practice by two men who were eminent if not pre-eminent among the educators of their time. Unfortunately, they have left no memorial of their method save as it is revealed in the pages of their grateful pupils.

The most famous of the two was Vittorino da Feltre dei Rambaldoni, the other was Guarino of Verona.

Vittorino was born in Feltre, near Venice, in 1378, of poor though noble parents. He went to Padua, where he maintained himself by teaching students younger than himself, and by waiting on the professor of mathematics, who declined to instruct him except for a payment in money. Vittorino accordingly taught himself Euclid, and soon superseded the illiberal professor. For twenty years he went on teaching at Padua, the famous university city celebrated by Shakespeare as "fair Padua, nursery of the arts". Its university was founded as far back as 1222. He then went to Venice, where he learned Greek from Guarino. Returning to Padua, he opened a students' hostel. Leaving once more for Venice, he started a school on strict lines open to students of all classes who were likely to profit by his teaching.

It was here, when he was forty-six years of age, that Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, invited Vittorino to undertake the education of his sons. The invitation was accepted, and Mantua (in 1424) became the home of Vittorino for the remaining twenty-two years of his life.

During these years he founded and perfected the first great school of the Renaissance, a school whose spirit, curriculum, and method justifies us in regarding it as a landmark in the history of classical education. It was the great typical school of the humanities. Vittorino combined with the educational apparatus

of the classical literature the spirit of the Christian life and the Greek passion for bodily culture.

In this ducal school of Mantua poor boys of special promise were gratuitously educated, together with the sons of wealthy parents who could pay the usual fees. All alike were under the immediate and personal influence of a master who taught them to regard the schoolroom as a holy place. The "Pleasant House", as it was called, amid playing fields with lofty rooms made gay with pictures of frolicsome children, was a palace of delight, where all the sixty or seventy scholars of whatever rank were under the self-same discipline, and where their bodies, minds, and souls were under the eager, unremitting care of a sympathetic master, who was a Christian no less than a Humanist. The range of his sympathy was remarkable. He was inspired with a broad and serious interest in every branch of a liberal education.

In the teaching of Greek he was aided by immigrants from Greece, who in exchange learnt their Latin from Vittorino. He wrote no books, he had no son to carry on his work, but his memory has been made immortal by the gratitude of his pupils. He died in 1446.

While Vittorino endeavoured to send forth from the school of Mantua young citizens well equipped for practical life, prepared by means of a liberal education to serve God in Church and State, his great contemporary, Guarino of Verona (1374-1460), with a wider knowledge of Greek and a minuter familiarity with matters of textual criticism in Latin, seems to have concentrated much of his attention on the narrower aim of producing clever and eloquent representatives of pure, as opposed to applied, scholarship. He had learned Greek under Chrysoloras at Constantinople, he had lectured at Florence and Venice, and for ten years at his native city of Verona, when he was called to Ferrara, where he spent the last ten years of his life.

For seventeen years, while Vittorino was still presiding over the school at Mantua, Guarino was instructing first the school and then the University of Ferrara. For the last twenty years of his life he was Professor of Rhetoric at Ferrara.

Guarino made numerous translations from the Greek. He

discovered a manuscript of the Epistles of Pliny containing 124 letters previously unknown. He produced recensions of many of the Latin classics in which his aim was to render the text more intelligible to his youthful pupils.

Guarino himself left no account of his methods, but his youngest son Baptista, who was associated with his father in the tuition of his pupils, has left us a little treatise composed in 1459, and printed, about 1474, at Ferrara, under the title " De ordine docendi ac studendi ", in which he describes the method of instruction pursued by his father.

This little treatise is the first in which the claim to be considered an educated gentleman is reserved for one who has a familiar acquaintance with Greek as well as Latin. " To man alone is given the desire to learn " Guarino points out, hence what the Greeks called παιδεία, we call " studiae humanistica ", for learning and training in virtue are peculiar to man, therefore our forefathers called them " humanitas ", the pursuits, the activities proper to mankind.

From the Academy of Guarino a great many scholars proceeded who carried learning not merely throughout Italy but also far beyond her borders. Women as well as men retained a grateful remembrance of the intellectual training which they had received from Guarino and Vittorino.

In process of time academies sprang into existence in every town of Italy. In most cases the meetings of these learned bodies were accompanied by a banquet, with the discussion of a literary or scientific subject introduced by one of the members, together with the recitation of Latin poems, or the performance of modern Latin plays. The prototype of all the academies was that founded at Florence in 1439. But this was a revival of the old classic academy that was long the favourite resort of Plato at Athens.

The origin of the term " Academy " is of interest. Six furlongs west of Athens, on the road to the pass of Daphni and the plain of Eleusis, amid the olive trees there lies a plot of land that is a holy place in the history of literature, and in the history of philosophy. The plot of land belonged of old to the Attic hero Acadêmus, and the story told is that in gratitude for some legendary service rendered by that hero to Castor and Pollux, the

Spartans ever spared that spot in their repeated invasions of Attica. It had been surrounded by walls planted with trees, and under the shade of the sacred olive trees, in the days of Aristophanes (*circa* 448-380 B.C.), the youth of Athens might be seen running races. The place was known as the "Acadêmia", and amid the trees there was a gymnasium furnished with alcoves and seats. This gymnasium of the Acadêmia was long the favourite resort of Plato until he left it for the seculsion of his own garden. Thus it gave its name to the Academic philosophy.

We must not dwell upon the history of these academies beyond saying that the foremost of the academies of Florence was founded by a Platonist, a famous Greek scholar named Marsilio Ficino. Among the notable members of his Academy was Angelo Poliziano, familiarly known as Politian. He was tutor to the children of Lorenzo de Medici, and Professor of Greek and Latin Literature in Florence. The fame of his lectures must have reached England, for many scholars from our shores attended his lectures, among whom, notably, were Grocyn and Linacre, and possibly John Colet. Politian was a born poet, both in Latin and in Italian. The Italian opera originated with his "Orfeo", which in its first edition, written at an early age, contained, embedded in the Italian text, an ode in Latin sapphics to be sung by Orpheus. He died in 1494.

The Academy of Venice was founded by Aldo Manuzio Romano, the scholar-printer. It was an academy of Greek scholars, which played an important part in the revival of Greek. Its rules were in Greek, the language spoken at its meetings was Greek, and Greek names were adopted by its Italian members. One of the aims of this academy was to produce each month an edition of at least one thousand copies of the text of some good author. Its ordinary members included Janus Lascaris, the author of the first printed Greek grammar, and his pupil, Marcus Musurus, the editor of the first printed text of Plato. Its honorary members included Linacre, whose Latin rendering of the "Sphaera" of Proclus was published in 1499 by Aldus, and Erasmus, who visited Venice in 1508.

Looking a little more closely at this revival of interest in the Greek language and literature as it appeared in Western Europe,

we find that in the Middle Ages Greek had been studied to some slight extent for purposes of diplomatic intercourse between the Church and the Empire in the West, and the Church and the Empire in the East, but it was concerned with the modern language, not with its ancient literature. Indeed, there is much truth and reason in the assertion that in the middle of the fifteenth century Greece arose from the dead, if not with the New Testament, at least with her classical literature in her hand. The elementary knowledge of Greek that passed from Gaul to Ireland in the fifth century was carried back to Frankland by the Irish monks in the seventh century, when they founded (about 613) the famous monastery of St. Gallen, named after the Irish missionary St. Gall.

Plato and Aristotle were hardly known in the West except in Latin translations, and even these, or rather the versions of Aristotle, were not made from the Greek, but from Arabic renderings. In course of time they were superseded by renderings from the original Greek.

In Italy Greek had long survived as a living language in the distant South. In the year 727 and again in 816, the iconoclastic decrees of the Byzantine Emperors had driven many of the Greek monks and their lay adherents from their homes in the Eastern Empire to the South of Italy, and even to Rome itself.

The South of Italy belonged to the Eastern Empire between A.D. 553 and 1071, and in the extreme South there were still in existence Greek monks, during the Revival, and Greek has continued to be a living language in certain of the Calabrian villages down to the present day.

It was a Calabrian monk who gave Petrarch his first opportunity of learning Greek, and it was an envoy from Constantinople, Sigeros, who sent to Petrarch in 1353 a manuscript of Homer, which he placed by the side of Plato, and wrote to the donor of Homer to say how proud he was to have two guests of such distinction under his roof. It was a pupil of the Calabrian Barlaam named Pilatus who instructed Boccaccio in Greek and made a translation of Homer into Latin for Petrarch.

Between 1396 and 1400 Nicholas Chrysoloras, the most accomplished and eloquent Greek scholar of his age, was teaching

Greek at Florence at the invitation of the Signory. In 1400 he seems to have returned to Constantinople, where he remained until after 1408, so that for half a century before the fall of Constantinople the future destinies of Greek in Europe were thus assured. Chrysoloras also taught at Pavia, and died in 1415, leaving little behind him apart from his Catechism of Greek Grammar, first printed at Venice in 1484.

It was from Chrysoloras that Leonardo Bruni and Guarino of Verona, the educationists, learned Greek. Guarino visited Constantinople for the express purpose, and lived in the household of Chrysoloras for five years (1403-08). Upon his return to Italy, he carried with him fifty Greek manuscripts, a list of which is still in existence.[1]

He was not alone in bringing the literature of Greece to the shores of Italy. In 1422 a Sicilian named Aurispa visited Constantinople, learned Greek, and the following year returned to Venice with no less than 238 Greek manuscripts. In 1427 another scholar, Filelfo, who for seven years was Secretary of the Venetian Legation at Constantinople, returned to Italy with a large supply of Greek volumes, including at least forty different authors. Another Greek, who was afterwards made a Cardinal, was Bessarion. He gave to Venice a large number of Greek manuscripts, which formed the foundation of the Library of St. Mark's, and was conspicuous as the great patron of all the learned Greeks who flocked to Italy, both before and after the fall of Constantinople.

Pope Nicholas V was a liberal patron of these Greek refugee scholars, and did much to extend the knowledge of the Greek classics. On his death-bed, in 1455, he was able to say: "In all things I have been liberal in building, in the purchase of books, in the constant transcription of Greek and Latin manuscripts, and in the reward of learned men". It was this enterprise and ardour of Pope Nicholas that prompted the saying of Filelfo: "Greece has not perished, but has migrated to Italy, the land known of old as Magna Graecia".

[1] Omont, "Les manuscrits grecs de Guarino", in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1892, pp. 78-81.

Two years before the death of Nicholas Constantinople had been taken by the Turks, and when the news of that event burst like a thunderbolt on Italy the future Pope, Æneas Sylvius, was fully conscious of the blow that had fallen on the cause of Greek literature.

The fall of Constantinople was at one time regarded as the cause of the revival of Greek learning in Italy. But we now know that a century before that event Petrarch possessed manuscripts of Homer and Plato, that Homer had been translated into Latin for the use of Petrarch and Boccaccio, that Boccaccio learnt Greek, that half a century before the fall Greek was being taught in Florence by Chrysoloras, that the principal Greek prose authors had already been translated, and that at least five of the foremost Greek refugees had reached Italy before the overthrow of the doomed city.

Turning now briefly to England, we find that in the second half of the fifteenth century a certain interest in Italian humanism was felt by men like John Tiptoft (1427-70), William Grey (who died in 1478), John Frere (d. 1465), and John Gunthorpe (d. 1498). These were Oxford men, and all went on pilgrimage to Ferrara, the home of Guarino, and all of them left Latin manuscripts to college libraries, but all failed to arouse any permanent interest in the classics.

It was not until the value of Greek thought became in any degree manifest that the new learning awakened any enthusiasm in England.[1] The first Englishman of the Renaissance to study Greek was a Benedictine monk named William Tilly (d. 1494). He was haunted night and day by the vision of Italy, the land which next to Greece had been the nursing mother of men of genius. He paid two visits to Italy, in 1464 and in 1485. On his return he was made Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and paid special attention to Greek.

In the school of Christ Church was Tilly's nephew, Thomas Linacre, who caught his uncle's enthusiasm and love of classical learning. Linacre became a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and in 1485 he accompanied his uncle to Italy, studying Greek at Florence under Politian.

Modern scholarship in England begins with Linacre and his

friends, William Grocyn and William Latimer, both of whom attended Greek lectures in Florence.

It was probably not until Grocyn's return from Italy in 1490 that the effective teaching of Greek began in Oxford. A younger member of this group was William Lily, who picked up his Greek at Rhodes, on his pilgrimage to Palestine. He it was who became the first High Master of St. Paul's School, founded by John Colet.

England was slow to welcome the new learning, for it was not until 1491 that Greek was publicly taught at Oxford, whilst at Paris a public teacher of the language had been appointed in 1458.

It was this little band of Oxford scholars returning to their mother country, full of the new learning, that led the way to a better education in the schools and colleges.

John Colet, afterwards to become famous as the Dean of St. Paul's, reading for the first time the New Testament in the original Greek, became so fired with enthusiasm that he began to proclaim the good news at Oxford. He was listened to, we are told, with such breathless interest, even by dons, for his manner of lecturing was so novel, he had so much love in his work, and his words flowed with such ease, that none could tire, even though they might disagree.

The fame of these lectures spread not only throughout England, but to the Continent, and attracted that subtle, great, little Dutchman, Erasmus, from Rotterdam, who subsequently became the great literary autocrat of Europe.

Erasmus writes with enthusiasm to a friend in Italy of the scholars he met at Oxford, who included Thomas More. Says Erasmus: "I have found so much learning and culture and that of no common kind . . . that I now hardly want to go to Italy except to see it. When I listened to my friend Colet I can fancy I am listening to Plato himself. Who can fail to admire Grocyn with all his encyclopædic erudition? Can any thing be more acute, more elevated, more refined than the judgment of Linacre? Has nature ever moulded anything greater, pleasanter, or happier than the mind of Thomas More?"

During the three years (Dec. 1510-Dec. 1513) which Erasmus

spent at Cambridge, at the invitation of Thomas More, he gave unofficial instruction in Greek, beginning with the catechism of Chrysoloras, and proceeding to the large grammar of Theodorus Gaza. It was here at Cambridge that Erasmus collated the manuscripts and prepared for publication at Basle from the press of Johann Froben, the first printed Greek New Testament to be issued from the press in 1516.

The teaching of Erasmus at this time was revolutionary in the extreme, and gave great offence to the Church authorities. He contended that men should not any longer study theology in Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, but should go to the Fathers of the Church and, above all, to the New Testament. He showed that the Vulgate swarmed with faults, and he rendered an immense service to the truth by publishing his critical edition with a new Latin translation.

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